20

MAY 1988

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

TRIAL:
U.S.A. vs. Dennis Banks

PROPERTY OF THE
LIBRARY
MAY 25 1988
University of North Carolina
at Greensboro

Economic and social factors of technological progress

Interview with Alessandro Natta

AEROFLOT OFFERS
ITS BUSINESS-CLASS PASSENGERS EXTRA COMFORTS OVER THEIR TOURIST-CLASS TRAVELLING COMPANIONS

—more legroom between rows of seats,

—exclusive ticket and luggage registration desks for first and executive-class passengers at the Sheremetyevo-2 airport,

—a choice of seats in the business-class cabin,

—better-quality food approaching the first-class standard,

—a larger luggage allowance (up to 30 kilos),

—exclusive waiting lounges.

For detailed information on flights featuring business-class service please apply to the Aeroflot offices in your country—or right to the Aeroflot Central International Agency,

29 Leningradskoye Shosse, Moscow, 125212

Telephone: 246-49-42 Telex: 411922

FLY BUSINESS CLASS—WITH AEROFLOT!

АЭРОФЛОТ

Soviet airlines

NEW TIMES

No. 20, MAY 1988
Founded 1943

Editor-in-chief
VITALY IGNATENKO

Associate editors:
L. ABRAMOV,
L. BEZYMENSKY,
V. CHERNYAVSKY,
V. GANYUSHKIN,
S. GOLYAKOV,
V. KULISTIKOV,
L. MLECHIN,
A. PIN,
D. POGORZHELSKY,
A. PUMPYANSKY,
Y. SHEVCHENKO,
V. STARSHINOV

Designer I. Shein

Editor of English edition:
E. Smirnov

AFGHANISTAN

On May 15, the Geneva accords on Afghanistan enter into force. In pursuance of the sides' commitments, Soviet troops are to begin pulling out on this day, and Pakistan is to stop interfering or helping others to interfere in Afghan affairs, so that these Afghan children can live in peace. (See p. 11.)

CONTENTS:

2
Glasnost

4
Highlight of the week

5
Exclusive for New Times
Alessandro Natta
THERE IS NO STOPPING
THE ONMARCH
OF HISTORY

10
Observer's view
Leonid Mlechin
FORMULA OF TRUST

11
Afghanistan
Alexander Oliynik
WELCOME HOME, BOYS!

13
Israel
Alexander Zotov
and Vladimir Nosenko
FORTY YEARS ON

16
Economics
Andrei Kuteinikov
ECONOMIC
AND SOCIAL FACTORS
OF TECHNOLOGICAL
PROGRESS

19
U.S.S.R.: perestroika
and democracy
COOPERATIVES:
THE GROWING PAINS

ВСЕСОЮЗНАЯ XIX КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ КПСС

22
Observer's view
Yuri Shevchenko
LEGALITY
REHABILITATING

23
Hungary
Valery Musatov
THE TURNING POINT

25
Reflections
Ovanes Melikyan
POLITICS AND ETHICS

27
Human rights
Lev Yelin
UNITED STATES
vs. DENNIS BANKS

29
Plovdiv'88
Alexei Bukalov
A FESTIVAL
OF INTERNATIONAL
TRADE

INTERNATIONAL FAIR PLOVDIV · BULGARIA

30
Religion
Alexii, Metropolitan
of Leningrad and Novgorod
ENTERING
THE SECOND
MILLENNIUM

32
In memoriam
Mikhail Bogdanov
A LIFE OF
ACHIEVEMENT

Cover:
Photo by V. Pchelkin

PROPERTY OF THE LIBRARY
MAY 25 1988
University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, U.S.S.R. Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67

Published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish, Czech and Greek

● Telex: 411164a NEWT SU, 411164b NEWT SU, 411164c NEWT SU ● Cables: New Times Pushkin Square Moscow ● Printed by the Moskovskaya Pravda press in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

OPINION

RAUL BAEZ BELLO
Ciego de Avila,
Cuba

■ The United States has never reconciled itself to the victory of the revolution in Cuba. At its bidding Cuba was first expelled from the Organization of American States. Washington hoped that isolating Cuba in this way would lead to the collapse of our revolution. But it miscalculated. In spite of the economic blockade that lasted for years Cuba held on and consolidated its positions. There have also been other hostile actions by our northern neighbour: assassination attempts on the life of Fidel Castro, provocative broadcasts by Radio Marti, and numerous anti-Cuban campaigns.

An active misinformation campaign is in progress. It is alleged, for instance, that our government compels young Cubans to go to Angola. That is not true. I want to tell everyone, including people in the United States, that Cubans fulfil their internationalist duty voluntarily. They consider it a matter of honour to display solidarity and internationalism, helping a fraternal people repel foreign aggression.

The imperialists call us terrorists. But can champions of peace be terrorists? It is also rumoured that human rights are not respected in Cuba. Can that be so in a country where every citizen has the right to free education and medical care, where people have enough food, and where unemployment, prostitution and poverty have been eliminated?

I think the U.S. administration would do well to see how human rights are observed in its own country.

A MATTER AT ISSUE

GLASNOST

From our mailbag

Readers speak up

JAYANTHA LAL RATNASEKERA
citizen of Sri Lanka
and fifth-year student
at the Patrice Lumumba
Peoples' Friendship
University,
Moscow

■ I have read the letters published under this rubric with great interest and would like to take part in the discussion of painful issues. My opinion has, as it were, a dual character. On the one hand, I can form an unbiassed judgement from the outside. On the other, I have now been living in Moscow for six years, so it will also be a judgement from the inside.

Like all sober-minded people, I enthusiastically support perestroika and clearly understand the need to take a deeper look at history. Whether in a capitalist or a socialist society, people should know their real history. If someone has blind faith in his country, as Silvio Sarzi-Sartori writes (No. 15/88), he especially should know the whole truth.

Socialism and communism don't have to be believed blindly, because communism is a scientific theory, not a religion. A review of the path along which you have come is a lesson not for the Soviet people alone but for all who want to embark on the course of building communism.

V. STEPANENKO
aged 14, Kharkov,
U.S.S.R.

■ Why is it necessary to delve into history? I think there can be only one answer to this question: to avoid a repetition of past mistakes. It is impossible to carry out economic reforms and revise political and philosophical thought without analyzing our rich historical experience. One must always tell the truth and nothing but the truth, and tell it to oneself in the first place. Perhaps this will dent our image abroad in the ideological field, because far from all will be able to appraise such honesty worthily. But there is no other option.

The collectivization of agriculture and industrialization are also much debated subjects now. I think there can be no justification in history for mass legalized terror. It was both morally and economically damaging. The victims of Stalin's repressions are not victims of the revolution. The author of a letter from Italy is profoundly mistaken. The Stalin reforms imposed on the people by force led to the dominance of bureaucracy for over 55 years, to stagnation which brought the economy on the verge of a crisis.

We young people have inherited much that is really good. But we have also inherited debts that must now be paid, because otherwise they will have to be paid with interest by the generations to come.

B. DRAZDOVSKY
Minsk, U.S.S.R.

■ I agree with many aspects of our policy, though I do not support it in its entirety. The radical transformation of our society is opening up new opportunities one could not even have dreamed of some years ago. I'm absolutely sure that the present leadership wants to improve the quality of life and conduct an open and sincere dialogue with the people. In this connection, throwing light on the dark pages of our history should be welcomed in every way. The varnishing over of history, and the hushing up of many negative aspects of it, have always aroused only disgust and protest among honest people. I believe that the rehabilitation of innocent people, though belated, is a very necessary measure—better late than never. Appropriate changes should be introduced in history and social science textbooks.

It is necessary to reveal the whole truth and adopt an uncompromising attitude. What is needed is a frank admission of past mistakes.

NINO MONTELEONE
Partanna, Italy

■ I insist on restoring the view of Stalin and the evaluation of his personality that existed before the 20th CPSU Congress. In the eyes of millions of people of the older generation in my country, Stalin was for many years the builder of the party and the Soviet state. Thanks to him, the Soviet people built socialism and won a victory in the Patriotic War. I think young people, young Communists in the West want a confirmation that your country had great leaders and that its 30-year history under Stalin did not consist of innumerable mistakes. As for mistakes, they should be admitted and criticized, of course. But not in the way in which it was done at the 20th Party Congress or is being done now. The revision of socialism to which the revelations made by Khrush-

chev amounted merely caused divisions in the international working-class movement and damaged the international prestige of the Soviet Union.

I watch the process of "democratization" in the Soviet Union with alarm. The type of democracy you are promoting could open up the way to the enemies of socialism. I think those who are now criticizing Stalin are such enemies. It should be remembered that the events in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland were not fortuitous. In my opinion, they were caused by Khrushchev's policy alone.

SERGEI GORYUNOV
member of the Communist Party since 1954,
war veteran,
Lieutenant Colonel (Ret.)
Rostov-on-Don, U.S.S.R.

■ My whole life has coincided with the period of the rise and consolidation of our socialist state. I well remember the heroism displayed by people during the prewar five-year-plan periods. The successes of those years are unquestionable. But what seemed to be a wonderful time was darkened by the sudden appearance of "enemies of the people." It turned out that they were active beside us, even in my collective farm.

By some miracle, my father survived. He was detained for three days and then released. There were rumours that arrests had been made by mistake and that all were about to return home. But many have never returned. In those days I was called a Trotskyite-Bukharinite, though I still do not understand why.

Even more people were arrested in the upper echelons. Large numbers of absolutely innocent people devoted to the party were victimized and condemned to death in the country that was building socialism.

Is it not yet clear to some what damage the Stalin personality cult has done to our state and the people as a whole? Some people are opposed to raking over old ashes. But we shall achieve no successes if we do not know the whole truth about our past.

ARTHUR CHADANOV
Ust Labinsk,
Krasnodar Territory, U.S.S.R.

■ I completely disagree with the conclusions drawn by Silvio Sarzi-Sartori in his letter. Revolution does not only need sacrifice. It is first of all a movement forward. But can one advance without analyzing past mistakes in order to overcome them? Indeed, to err is human. However, Stalin and his associates elevated these mistakes to the level of state policy which led to the death of the finest sons of Russia, genocide against their own people. The low cultural standards of the people, their blind faith in Stalin, and the lack of democracy and openness contributed to the flourishing of the personality cult.

We are now returning to the ideas of Lenin. This process is called perestroika. Its essence consists, I think, in the building of genuine socialism, as visualized by the founders of Marxism-Leninism. There is no room for half-truths.

ARTIST'S COMMENT

Drawing by Leonid Tishkov

GLASNOST

FROM OUR MAILBAG

Is a guest always right?

MARINETTE ARDENT
Nice, France

■ I fully share the opinion of Holger Reeck (issue No. 4/88), though as a representative of the West, I should have felt happy to be a privileged tourist in the Soviet Union. That is not so, however. I would give a sigh of relief if all Beriozka shops, including those for foreigners, were closed in your country, if an end was put once and for all to such phenomena which even remind one indirectly of a disgusting form of monetary apartheid. In the tourist group with which I visited the Soviet Union there was no one who, astonished by your country and your successes, did not feel constraint, dislike and even aversion at seeing the amoral and quite unnecessary system of "privileges." Believe me, it leaves a bad impression of the Soviet Union.

JÜRGEN HÖNICKE
Brück,
German Democratic Republic

From my childhood I have been brought up in a spirit of unity with your country, and I have indeed become your friend. I can confirm that Soviet people also cherish friendly feelings for us Germans, despite the fact that Germany brought much suffering to your country during the last war.

I became convinced of that during my visit to the Soviet Union in 1985. However, I did not like all of what I saw, and as a friend, I want to tell you about that. For instance, it was not pleasant to see children begging from members of our tourist group for badges. In Moscow, I saw queues for meat and a lot of drunks in the streets. All this was a nuisance.

I think that in the atmosphere of perestroika and glasnost, a great deal is changing for the better in your country. You are talking frankly about your shortcomings, and this is a guarantee that you will certainly overcome them.

HIGHLIGHT OF THE WEEK

PRIVATE OPINION

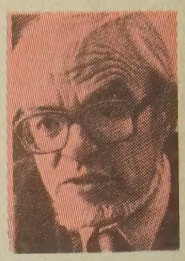
NATWAR SINGH, Minister of State for External Affairs, India

The coming into effect of the Geneva Accords on May 15 will certainly be the highlight of the week. And not only of this week, either. This is an event of historic significance. It marks the successful conclusion of the efforts of the U.N. Secretary-General to find a political solution to a very complex issue. We sincerely hope that the Accords will lead to a lessening of tensions in the region and create a climate for peace, stability and cooperation.

The signing of the Geneva Accords was made possible by the statesmanship of General Secretary Gorbachev and the peace-loving policies of the Soviet Union. India believes that it is for the Afghan people to decide their own destiny. We earnestly hope that all concerned parties will show sincerity in implementing the Accords. It would indeed be shortsighted and counterproductive for anyone to violate the principles of territorial integrity of and non-interference in Afghanistan, merely to derive the continuing benefits of large-scale arms supplies from distant countries. Such a course of action would create fresh problems and can only aggravate tensions and add to instability in the region.

India has traditionally had warm and friendly relations with Afghanistan. We have consistently supported the efforts of the U.N. Secretary-General and always maintained that any settlement which emerges to the Afghan issue should guarantee the sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan free from all foreign interference. It is our hope that with the signing of the Geneva Accords, peace and stability will return to Afghanistan so that the brave people can devote their efforts to economic development and national reconstruction.

We would welcome Afghanistan joining the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation at an early date. India is keen not only to develop and strengthen its bilateral relations with Afghanistan but to reinforce ties by seeking Afghanistan's participation in fostering regional cooperation in South Asia.



VENTSEL RAICHEV, Deputy General Director, Sofia Press Agency

My trip to the Soviet Union coincided with the appearance in Bulgarian papers of the Pravda editorial "The Principles of Perestroika: Revolutionary Thinking and Action." The article was well received by most of our public. After all we in Bulgaria also have people whose views are somewhat similar to those of the author of the letter to Sovetskaya Rossiya – people who are not averse to conservatism, and who adhere to the Stalinist administrative-bureaucratic approach to things. I fully agree with Pravda that the letter in fact amounts to the platform of the anti-perestroika forces who pay mere lip service to the reforms. In this sense we even ought to be grateful to the author of the letter, which has finally revealed the policy line of those who are appalled by the prospect of democratic changes.

It's great that most of the Soviet writers and journalists I've met recently regard the Pravda article as a highlight of the week, a long-awaited event, that they fully endorse it and have taken it as a guide to action.

VALENTINA GRIZODUBOVA, Hero of the Soviet Union, Hero of Socialist Labour

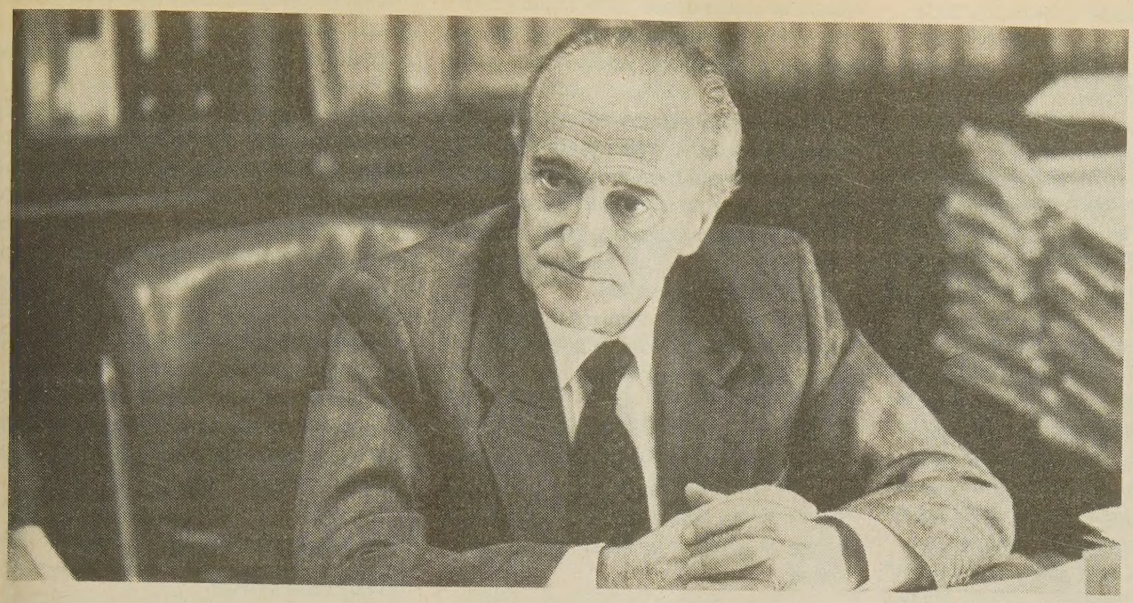
The last shots of the Soviet people's Great Patriotic War against nazi Germany were fired forty-three years ago. May 9 became Victory Day forever.

Why do I say "forever"?

Because in the history of all nations and states there are events that can never be forgotten. The Soviet people won the mortal combat between the world's reactionary forces and the forces of renovation, between fascism and socialism – and this Victory stays with us, has come down in our history, and remains in our hearts.

The ranks of the veterans of the Great Patriotic War who brought it to a victorious conclusion are thinning from year to year. But those who are no longer with us live on in our memories, and in the memories of our children, and our grandchildren.

EXCLUSIVE FOR NEW TIMES



THERE IS NO STOPPING THE ONMARCH OF HISTORY

An interview with Alessandro Natta, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party

New Times. The Italian Communist Party has always followed developments in the Soviet Union with interest, taking a different view of specific periods in its history, beginning with the October socialist revolution. What is your party's view of the developments caused by perestroika?

Alessandro Natta. That's right. We have always shown great interest in the Soviet Union, its domestic affairs and foreign policy, socialist ideas and the building of a socialist society. The ICP displayed the same interest even when it took a critical view of certain developments in the Soviet Union or when tension arose in our relations in the recent past.

Our interest was enhanced by the election of Mikhail Gorbachev to the post of General Secretary, when we sensed a new element in Soviet policy. The first manifestations of this appeared early in 1985. Later we witnessed a programme for a political solution to key world issues, in the field of international relations, and for the further growth of Soviet society, beginning to take shape more and more clearly.

The current reforms in the Soviet Union increasingly appear as a comprehensive programme, far broader than it initially seemed, in connection with the need to update the obsolete economic, technological and production mechanism. They can be described as revolutionary, a revolutionary renewal of society as a whole, involving not only the economy but, we believe, politics. I have in mind here in particular the political system, the activity of the state, relations between the party and the state, and between the party and the elected bodies, associations, and society as a whole.

We have also welcomed the policy of renewal because, to our mind, it is consonant with our fairly recent view of the state of affairs in the Soviet Union. I mention this without any ulterior motive, just to emphasize what we have always thought: the Soviet Union should be guided by the slogan today formulated as "More socialism, more democracy."

Our interest increased when we understood that new ideas also underlie the search for ways leading to disarmament, the relaxation of tension, and peaceful coexistence. The search is coming to be more and more in evidence, its purpose being to make the vital need for coexistence a reality, because today there is no alternative to peace. We know that war will wipe out our civilization and the human species.

N.T. Can peace and peaceful coexistence eliminate the obstacles that stand in the way of human progress?

A.N. Everything in human society and the world is so closely interconnected that any problem can be solved only by joint effort. I have in mind the urgent problems of delivering a large part of mankind from the state of tragic backwardness and developing and preserving nature because the atmosphere and the oceans are our common heritage which we all have to protect.

We greatly appreciate Moscow's approach to these problems and the relevant Soviet proposals. We also consider it important, therefore, that the dialogue and attempts to reach agreement with the United States have led to specific results, one of them being the conclusion of the INF treaty, a document of special significance for Europe. I hope for further progress, because what is at stake is the future of

mankind as a whole, and especially of both parts of Europe.

Democracy and glasnost

N.T. The slogan "More socialism, more democracy" has been advanced by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. What, in the ICP's opinion, is the role of democracy in the establishment of socialism?

A.N. I think it is one of the most fundamental points. The broad masses of the people should be involved in the planned revolutionary transformation of society. This process requires the maximum consent and participation of the people. Those who favour it should become an active force on the way to renewal.

The need for a phased development and a gradual transition, noted Mikhail Gorbachev some time ago, is becoming increasingly evident. A return to the past must not be permitted. This could lead to grave consequences both for the Soviet Union and the cause of socialism as a whole. Therefore, I think that the expression "more democracy," in the sense of enlisting the help of more people, their direct participation in the changes, their consent and support, is an essential condition for achieving what has been planned and, of course, for guiding the process.

N.T. Some allege that democracy and glasnost are good, but only up to a point. Do you think there are restricted areas for democracy and glasnost?

A.N. I don't think there are such areas. It's one thing to direct the process of democratization with full responsibility, and it's quite a different thing to say "this is a restricted area and 'unauthorized' persons are not admitted." I think democracy and glasnost should affect all fields of social, cultural and political activity.

The establishment of restricted areas would provoke and stimulate resistance and hostility. I am aware how serious this problem is. But it should be tackled because it is a very important matter. Democracy and glasnost must breathe new life into the Soviet system – in the economic, social, cultural and political spheres – so that it can overcome the contradictions, dangers and threats that beset it.

Palmiro Togliatti said in 1964 that socialism means a higher level of participation by all the people in political decision-making, in building a new society. Later, Enrico Berlinguer said that democracy is a universal value. This does not mean that the forms and methods of exercising democracy cannot vary. However, the principles involving the very content of democracy should remain immutable.

It was emphasized in our talk with Mikhail Gorbachev that the socialist state must guarantee the equality of rights for all citizens. What is needed is a law common for all. To make my point clearer, I shall stress that administrative decisions must not prevail over law.

As a form of government in which the basic universal principles and values are recognized and put into effect irrespective of the political system, democracy must overcome any inequality of citizens on the grounds of sex or political convictions. Otherwise, democracy is violated. And this, as you know, involves a wide range of issues painful for all and at all times.

To make myself understood better, I shall say, for instance, that basic human rights are today in jeopardy in Italy. When the right to work is not fully exercised in a society, it means that something is not working, something unacceptable, intolerable is happening there. When there is a crying inequality between men and women in a society, it means that something is wrong there. When the right to information is limited, when it is enjoyed by a few or only by the party, it means something has to be revised and changed.

As far as I understand, the same serious problems exist in your country too. How many nations and nationalities are there in the Soviet Union?

N.T. More than a hundred.

A.N. Your state consists of republics. It is necessary to display unflagging concern for the rights of all its nationalities, national minorities and ethnic groups, for each of them has its own history, culture, traditions and language. They profess different religions, and equality should therefore be guaranteed in this field too.

Material inequality is not the principal issue in the Soviet Union. As far as I understand and am aware, economic and living standards in some of the Central Asian republics are fairly high. One hears sometimes that people in Baku live better than in Moscow.

Nevertheless, serious problems may arise. For instance, the need to preserve and respect the distinctive features of this or that nationality. If the Armenian minority in Azerbaijan is unable to watch television programmes in their own language or to study in Armenian schools, this becomes a problem. Similar problems also arise in Italy and other European countries. Debates on the status of the German minority in Trentino-Alto Adige recently ended in the Italian parliament. However, the status of the Slovenian minority in Friuli-Venezia Giulia has not yet been defined.

In our interrelated world there is a tendency towards abandoning the nation-state concept. The Soviet Union is a multinational state. Together with the European Economic Community, the process of supra-national integration is developing in Western Europe. At the same time, there is a growing need to accept minor realities that do not coincide with those of the state, namely, "small motherlands," or national regions inhabited by national minorities or groups. All these realities can be tackled effectively when democracy is fully exercised.

The world and perestroika

N.T. What do you think about the interest being shown in perestroika throughout the world?

A.N. I think it is an important question. There is worldwide interest in perestroika. The Italian Communists and the countries allied with the Soviet Union are not alone in showing keen interest in the reforms.

The universal interest in perestroika is explained mainly by the fact that the Soviet Union is the greatest reality in the world, one of the big powers. There is a close connection between perestroika and the policy of détente, coexistence and dialogue between states. In this sense, the success and advancement of perestroika have a bearing on international affairs, especially on Western Europe and the Third World.

The Soviet Union has a creditable record of support for and solidarity with liberation movements, the struggle of peoples for their rights. At the same time, the Third World nations believe that, while expressing understanding and giving assistance in the struggle for their rights, the Soviet Union should avoid tragic mistakes or rectify them, as in the case of Afghanistan.

An economically stronger and more democratic Soviet Union, developed in every respect, will engage the attention of Europe, the Third World and progressive forces in all countries. The working-class movement and all progressive forces in Europe and the world cannot but wish success to your current policy.

We must clearly realize, however, that there are also hostile forces. Such forces in Europe, the United States and other re-

gions believe that pressure must be brought to bear on the Soviet Union. They fear that if the Soviet Union becomes stronger in the economic, techological, scientific and other fields their current privileges could be at risk.

There is an opinion, and it is not concealed, that disarmament is undesirable because it gives scope for a policy such as perestroika in the Soviet Union. Some of the hostile forces allege that the arms race should be continued in order to weaken the Soviet Union. Other forces say that the world should not put too much trust in the good intentions, good will and proposals of the Soviet Union.

I don't think the hostile forces predominate, though they should not be underestimated, of course. Support for the policy of democratization in the Soviet Union should, in my opinion, not only be a wish but also a duty of the left and the peace movement. Let me explain that in Italy the left also includes broad secular and Catholic democratic circles.

N.T. Will the policy of democratization help the Soviet Union to become less "menacing" in the eyes of the West?

A.N. Certainly it will. In a divided world, tension and conflicts, wars cold and otherwise breaking out in one or other continent, and the arms race have evoked mutual fear. This view of some public circles is prevalent in the West. In the Soviet Union, however, the prevalent opinion is that the threat comes from the West. It is necessary to overcome these old "ideas," to defuse these mines.

From this point of view, the policy of dialogue and détente is of tremendous value. Likewise important are the results achieved to date: the conclusion of the INF treaty, further progress in the talks on chemical and strategic weapons, initial steps in tackling the increasingly vital issue of conventional armaments with the aim of reducing their levels on both sides.

It is necessary to act in the interests of security, refraining from attempts to upset the balance too much, because, as it is now clear to all, there can be only mutual security.

I think the Soviet leaders are prepared to deal with all these issues. This will go a long way towards overcoming ideas of the "enemy threat." No one of us entertains the illusion that we are on the threshold of an idyllic community, lasting and universal peace. Rivalry and the ideological struggle will continue, of course. But, at the same time, it is necessary to avoid risky situations, the danger of war, and constant tension.

I think the current image of the Soviet Union as a country menacingly determined to impose its will on the West will be considerably diluted as a result of the process of democratization. Given an efficiently functioning system, broader scope for and freedom of information and discussion, the development in this direction will, I'm sure, lead to a substantial improvement in international relations.

Relations between the ICP and the CPSU

N.T. An ICP delegation recently met with Mikhail Gorbachev. Of the questions discussed at the meeting, some Italian newspapers mentioned only relations between the two parties.

A.N. At our meeting late in March we also discussed questions of great importance for our two countries, for Europe and the world as a whole. It was interpreted in different ways. There were speculations and deliberate omissions. I clearly stated that it was a manifestation of Italian provincialism and, what is worse, narrow-mindedness. It's a pity that symptoms of this kind can also be observed sometimes in the Socialist Party.

While rivalry between the different forces of the left is justified, it is quite unpardonable and even primitive to claim that things are in a bad way with the Italian communists if Natta went to Gorbachev. It seems ridiculous to me. I think, and I have even spoken about it at meetings, that others also want to go to Moscow. The leaders of not only left but also diehard conservative forces go to the Soviet capital. Therefore, I see no point in crude speculation about our delegation's trip to the U.S.S.R.

The Communist Party is a major political force in Italy. It plays a great part in domestic affairs. We have our representatives in the European Economic Community and in its parliament. How can one reduce the meeting between the delegations of our party and the CPSU to the level of idle gossip?

N.T. Leaving specualtions aside, what do you think about the present state of relations between the ICP and the CPSU?

A.N. We have met more often recently: in January 1986, at the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the October revolution last October and, lastly, in March. I don't think we should discuss the same questions every time. That would simply be boring.

I have frequently been asked on my return from Moscow whether relations between the ICP and the CPSU were discussed. I replied that it was certainly an inexhaustible subject of discussion, but the basic principles of these relations had already been defined with the utmost clarity.

We have our own political vision, our own strategy of advancement towards democracy and socialism in the part of the world to which we belong and which, incidentally, is part of the European Economic Community. Our party is independent in its political judgement, choice and decision making. This is, in our opinion, the basis of our independence and the mutual respect between the ICP and the CPSU.

N.T. Recognizing mutual autonomy, the CPSU states that it does not lay claim to the absolute truth.

A.N. The questions of "models" and the organizational aspect of relations between the two parties are no longer being raised. Relations between the ICP and the CPSU are based on a clear understanding of each other's role and positions.

We naturally live and work in more modest conditions. Of course, Italy is not the Soviet Union. However, it is also an important part of the present-day world. We in Italy are acting as an opposition force, though we do not conceal our aspiration to govern the country. We are not going to teach the Soviet Union. We do not visit Moscow to tell the Soviet comrades what they should do. We voice our judgement, express our opinion, and wish to learn and understand – even what we don't quite accept. The Soviet comrades are equally interested to learn and understand what the ICP is doing. I believe they also want to learn what the other political forces in Europe, including the Socialists and Social Democrats, are concerned with. They want to know it because the vital issues mentioned above are involved. It was along these lines that our recent meeting with Gorbachev took place. It seemed very important and significant to me.

N.T. What subjects in particular were discussed at the meeting?

A.N. We considered the economic and political integration of the EEC and the problems created by Soviet-American détente and disarmament in view of the discussions and questions arising in the European NATO States. Is not disarmament weakening that part of Europe in relation to the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, the Warsaw Pact? European defence and security are clearly necessary. The question is how to approach this problem.

The ICP has its own policy, coinciding to some extent with the policy followed

by other progressive parties in Italy and Europe. As distinct from other forces, it is not trying to impede or delay the process of disarmament between the Soviet Union and the United States. The main idea of the ICP's policy is that the West European countries should fulfil their duty by spreading the disarmament process to the western part of the continent and organizing their security accordingly.

In view of the planned scrapping of medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles, we are not calling, as others are, for a building up of conventional armaments or the transformation of Europe into an arena of the arms race. On the contrary, we are talking of the need for a balanced and controlled reduction of armaments in both parts of Europe.

Besides European affairs, the ICP and the CPSU delegations considered the present conflicts in the world. Though an agreement on Afghanistan had not yet been concluded, we wanted to understand and appreciate what the Geneva talks on settlement had achieved. Above all, bearing in mind the proximity and even direct involvement of Italy, we wanted to know the prospects for overcoming the present crises in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf.

However, apart from purely Italian considerations and interests, we discussed regional conflicts in the spirit of internationalism that is profoundly characteristic of the Communist Party of Italy. We have never been a provincial, closed party. Our strength lies in the interest we show in key world issues. It was also natural that we should broadly discuss issues relating to perestroika.

The party and the state

N.T. In the run-up to the 19th national party conference, the discussion on the party's role in society is broadening. How do you see the role of parties and public organizations in modern society?

A.N. We have no doubts as to state intervention in the economy. But we are also firmly convinced that bureaucratism and rigid centralism in any form should be avoided and overcome.

The concept of "more socialism" means, in my opinion, an expansion of social rights. In this sense, I believe, the party should not administer and run everything. It should be a great political force which plans, directs and mobilizes national concord. The tasks, responsibilities and terms of reference of the state, institutions of various kinds, Soviets, factory managements, etc., must be clearly differentiated.

It seems to me that these basic issues today are compelling the Soviet leadership to look for new solutions. They are also of vital interest to us. True, the Soviet Union has a one-party system. In this case, I think, the key problem for the party (it is appropriate to quote Gramsci here) is to become a force which determines hegemony, that is, can rally the people and convince them that its policy is correct.

The party should not command. One should be able to command and guide, Gramsci said. But inasmuch as the party works in conditions of socialism, it should be able to an ever greater degree to guide and not to command or issue orders from above. One of the main tasks for us is, I think, to solve the question of government. It should be political, ideological and cultural guidance and, to a much lesser degree, administration by command.

In Soviet society, where the division into classes has been considerably toned down, though it has not disappeared, there are social distinctions which are impossible to ignore. Society is becoming increasingly complex, mainly because human activity itself – even in agriculture, not only in industry, research or consumer services – is becoming complex too.

This more complex society, built on principles of justice and social equality, should therefore work out a dialectical approach that would rather stimulate its growth than merely express its pluralism. What I have in mind is that in Italy we see open rivalry between parties, whereas in the Soviet Union the dynamics, dialectics, struggle between ideas, and the vitality of democracy are determined by the party itself.

During our first meeting I told Mikhail Gorbachev in jest, as it happens, in a frank conversation, that he should form an opposition for himself. In the Soviet Union, I know, the word "opposition" is frowned upon for reasons deeply rooted in the party's history. I had in mind the need to extend dialectical principles to all spheres of public life.

It's bad when the party decides everything. The Soviets and trade unions should also exercise the functions inherent in them, and young people's and other organizations should play an effective role. I think the party should be a political organization, and not a wheel in the state machinery. It should not identify with the state or replace it.

I'm not lecturing you. I'm just thinking aloud about what you have asked me. I haven't the slightest intention of meddling in your affairs, but it seems to me that precisely such should be the role of parties in modern society.

We in Italy are conducting discussions with the aim of clearly delimiting the role of parties and the functions of the state, parliament, government, local government bodies, communes, regions and trade unions. What is needed is a variety of manifestations of political and public life which in the context of Italy can guarantee and extend democracy with the aim of improving it further.

N.T. Today we are talking about socialist pluralism. What do you feel about that?

A.N. It seems to be the right word because, as I've already said, it should be recognized that pluralism exists even in Soviet society. There is no uniformity. We know that, and here I have in mind more than just the social problems on which Mikhail Gorbachev commented sharply and of which I read in his latest report (for instance, the argument against wage-levelling tendencies, etc.).

I think the existence of social pluralism cannot be ignored. The pluralism of ideas deserves no less attention. In a society which wants to establish the principles of equality, solidarity and justice, the way of thinking cannot be prescribed by scriptures. They are worth reading only when they stimulate a never-ending quest. The world is constantly creating situations which neither Marx nor Lenin could have foreseen. Nor could Gramsci have foreseen new situations in Italy.

The world is constantly changing. From the legacy of those whom we consider our teachers, we should take only their method, their way of thinking. It is a critical study of reality, of the course of history which cannot be determined once and for all. There is no moment when everything that could be said has been said and everything that required a solution has been solved. Otherwise, we accept the idea that human history can stop once and for all. This has not yet happened, and we hope it never will.

The place of religion in society

N.T. Do those remarks apply to religion?

A.N. Yes, they do. In this sense we – I have in mind not only Communists but also the European labour movement before Marx and during his

lifetime – are successors to the ideology engendered by the Age of Enlightenment and the great French revolution.

The great enlighteners, from Voltaire to Rousseau, believed that the dissemination of knowledge and the subsequent revolution would lead to the decline of religions, seen by them as a form of prejudice, as false consciousness. Later, we held the view that a radical change in the social structures, the abolition of class inequality and other factors would seriously undermine religions. Both theories proved wrong, and I don't know what the future of religion will be.

In any case, the religions have not "automatically" withered away, despite the broad dissemination of knowledge. I can mention here Europe, the United States and the Soviet Union, where a high level of education, knowledge and scientific progress has been achieved and social reforms have made it possible to ensure good living standards. The decline of religion is not observed in these countries, though the church is encountering certain difficulties.

N.T. There are many believers in Italy. What place does religion hold in different societies in the modern world?

A.N. It is said that fewer people today attend mass and observe religious rituals in Italy. But religious feelings have not weakened. On the contrary, we have witnessed a great shift in the opposite direction, the revival of such religions as Islam. This means, I think, that the ideas, the views of man and the world advanced by religions, can form the basis for progressive initiatives, the striving for peace and progress.

Religion in itself is not doomed to extinction and is not aimed at diverting the people from their historic duty and political commitments. It was believed that, by virtue of their assertion of the will of Providence and the triumph of justice in the other world, religions would lead to humility, resignation, etc. But progress has affected religion too. Therefore, the religious factor seems to be extremely important, because religions may support one or other side.

In the past, the Catholic church was closely bound up with capitalism, imperialism. Today, the stand taken by the church on such important questions as disarmament and peace seems to be constructive. For instance, the church feels that spiritual values and the sense of duty are being neglected to some extent in the present-day world. For that reason general solidarity is today essential as never before. This idea is to be found in a recent encyclical of Pope John Paul II. We consider it very important and worthy of close attention.

We Italian Communists have always conducted a policy of open dialogue with the Catholic church. The party re-established by us after long years of underground work and anti-fascist struggle and the liberation of Italy in 1945 became open to Catholics too. The Rules of the ICP say that people holding different beliefs and ideological positions can be active members of the party provided they advocate the programme and the basic ideas of its policy.

We have always enjoyed the support of many Catholics. Otherwise, we would not wield such influence as we do today. We have always tried to avoid a religious conflict in Italy and have always recognized and asserted freedom of conscience and beliefs and the freedom of the church. However, we have tried to prevent the Catholic church from becoming a political force or interfering in domestic politics. When the church did that, often in support of the Christian Democrats, we entered into polemics and even exposed such interference.

A certain progress on this question was achieved at the second Vatican Ecumenical Council, which recognized new relations between faith and politics. The Council admitted that faith does not determine political choice and political affiliation. One can be a Catholic but not a Christian Democrat or a conservative. One can be a Catholic and a Communist at the same time and fight for the renewal of our society.

The Vatican's policy has not been consistent in the subsequent period. However, we adhere to our position in the given case. We are prepared to cooperate with Catholics and their organizations in defence of a just cause, such as the cause of the Palestinians fighting for their rights. We naturally cooperate with them in such an important cause as the struggle for peace and disarmament. We have no reservations. On the contrary, we regard as very important and promising contacts between forces whose initial positions are rather distant but who ultimately rally in support of a just cause which has a decisive influence on the present and future of mankind.

N.T. Thank you, Comrade Natta.

Interviewer: PAVEL NEGOITSA,

Rome, April 26

OUR PRIZEWINNERS

Prizes have been awarded by the Union of Soviet Journalists to four staff writers of our magazine.

ALEXANDER PUMPYANSKY, first deputy editor-in-chief, has received the Vorovsky prize for a series of articles on Soviet-American relations at the present stage.

VITALY GANYUSHKIN has received a diploma for his work as an editor of the newspaper Sovetskaya Kultura (Soviet Culture). For several months he has been working on New Times as deputy editor-in-chief.

LEV BEZYMENSKY, New Times political observer and associate editor, has been awarded a prize for what was voted the best work of the year – his documentary stories The Assassination Attempt and Lieutenant-Colonel Warwick Greene's Special Mission, devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

YURI SHEVCHENKO, an editor and an associate editor, has won a prize awarded by the Moscow branch of the Union of Soviet Journalists for a series of articles on perestroika and democratization in the Soviet Union.

New Times staff heartily congratulate the prizewinners and wish them further success in their work.

Formula of trust

LEONID MLECHIN

How to break the deadlock in Soviet-Japanese relations?

How could we have forgotten an incident which we have every reason to be proud of? ...In the late 1950s, a polio epidemic started to spread across Japan like wildfire, crippling and killing children. American pharmaceutical companies offered the Salk vaccine (dead) which did not guarantee a cure and was in short supply. A live vaccine was needed, and the Soviet Union had it for the asking.

"Make a deal with Moscow? Not on your life!" was Tokyo's response to the offer. It was backed by the entire political leadership, which viewed relations with the U.S.S.R. through the prism of the recently signed Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, the anti-Soviet press, and the pharmaceutical companies which had invested in the American vaccine.

But the Japanese mothers whose children were dying clamoured for the Soviet vaccine. They had the support of many progressive public organizations and statesmen. The movement assumed a broad social base, and the authorities had to give in. A licence for the purchase of the Soviet vaccine was issued for an unrealistically short term of two months, within which ten million doses of the vaccine had to be made and delivered to Japan.

This caused eyebrows to rise in Moscow — after all, Professor Chumakov's laboratory was not a factory.

On both sides of the Sea of Japan, however, people proved more powerful and more inventive than their respective establishments. The professor appealed to scientists and medical students. He didn't have to explain anything. His voluntary assistants worked around the clock in rotation — and free of charge. The vaccine was ready by the deadline set.

Another problem was that at the time Aeroflot planes did not fly to Japan. Delivering the vaccine by sea would take too long. And again, volunteers hired a SAS airliner... The last hours of the term of the licence's validity were expiring. A typhoon raging over the Far East could bring the efforts of so many people to nought at the last moment...

The progress of Operation Vaccine was followed all over Japan: some wished it ill, others hoped for the best. Gangs from the extreme right found their way into the airport out to smash the boxes containing the vaccine. The Moscow preparation might prove more dangerous than the disease itself, some papers warned... After the plane had landed, Japanese mothers rushed to the airfield. No one could protect the vaccine better than they.

The epidemic was arrested within three weeks of that day: no more children died. The Soviet Union did its truly internationalist duty. Throughout the country Japanese mothers blessed the Soviet people.

I hope that in the near future cinemagoers will see the feature film "The Step" made by Soviet and Japanese moviemakers on the basis of this story, which has been retrieved from oblivion by Vladimir Tsvetov, an expert on Japan. The film not only recreates this noble action (incidentally, the Soviet side was not as much as thanked for it), but provides a graphic illustration of how immoral red tape is, and how well people can get along, even in the general context of Soviet-Japanese relations which, in my opinion, leave much to be desired. The absence of a peace treaty 43 years after the war is an unprecedented fact. It will be remembered that while signing a joint declaration on restoring diplomatic relations in 1956, the sides agreed to start working for the treaty without delay. Today it is as remote a proposition as it was three decades ago. Why? Because of the "northern territories," Tokyo says, meaning the Southern Kuril Chain which, though part of the U.S.S.R., are claimed by Japan. "Japanese public opinion demands that the islands be returned," Tokyo says. "Soviet public opinion is against a revision of postwar borders," Moscow retorts. A deadlock?

Writing to us at New Times, readers suggest all sorts of ways of breaking the deadlock. Unfortunately, such a problem cannot be solved singlehanded. A solution takes an expert diplomatic effort. Eduard Shevardnadze's meetings with his Japanese colleagues seemed to be getting somewhere, but the top-level visit which was to have taken place last year never materialized. The reason for that, as I see it, was the same: failure to find the formula for a solution. There are other fish to fry: Soviet-U.S. relations, Afghanistan, trying to come to terms with China. Japan can wait? All the more so, since Tokyo has taken a negative stand: in the 1970s, Soviet diplomats suggested some palliatives, but the Japanese Foreign Ministry rejected all of them, making not a single countersuggestion.

Mikhail Gorbachev has just met with the leaders of the Communist and Socialist parties of Japan in Moscow. He defined the Soviet stand as follows: marking time makes no sense; any problem can only be solved in the process of improving relations, which have to be restructured on the basis of postwar realities.

The military-strategic situation in the Far East compares unfavourably with that in Europe where striking compromises have been achieved, and where missiles, regarded as indispensable for years, are being scrapped. On the other hand, the American mailed fist on the Japanese Isles, backed by the Self-Defence Forces, is opposed by the appropriate Soviet grouping, and the level of confrontation is not subsiding — rather, the contrary is true.

It's about time diplomats sat down around a negotiating table and tried to find a way out. If they prove to lack the courage it takes to reach compromises and make radical decisions, they should be given support. The diplomats should hear the voice of the public from both sides, and heed its suggestions, and its ideas. Diplomats are in duty bound to look for solutions, and the public must see to it that the solutions are found.

Welcome home, boys!

Alexander Oliynik,
Lt. Colonel, military journalist

A report from the Soviet military units preparing to return home.

"Board your vehicles! Forward!" Those short commands will ring out on May 15 near Jalalabad, the administrative centre of the Nangarhar Province in the eastern part of Afghanistan, bordering on Pakistan. To the strains of a military band, the infantry vehicles and armoured carriers of the X motorized unit of the Soviet Army will make its final round on the parade grounds, and the steel column will start moving north, to the borders of the Soviet Union. Military aircraft and helicopters will follow the same route. Commando units, sappers and other motorized units will also start moving north along the mountain roads from Gardez, Ghazni and Kandahar. In the first three months of the nine envisaged for the withdrawal of Soviet units from Afghanistan by the Geneva Accords, half the limited contingent of Soviet troops will leave the country. And in keeping with the ancient Afghan custom, as the military units move out, young Afghans will pour jugs of water onto the road to make the way back smooth and ensure them a speedy return home.

On the outskirts of Jalalabad

We walked along the rocky terrain just outside Jalalabad, where the X motorized infantry unit is stationed. It moved into Afghanistan in January 1980, as part of the limited contingent of Soviet troops dispatched there at the request of the Afghan government. And it spent all those years in that country, helping the friendly people to defend their independence. Thousands of officers and men were decorated with orders and medals for courage and gallantry displayed in fulfilling their internationalist duty. Senior Lieutenant N. Shornikov, Lieutenant G. Demchenko and Private S.Igolchenko were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. The name of Lieutenant A. Stovba, the soldier poet, decorated with the Order of Lenin and made a member of the Union of Soviet Writers – though unfortunately posthumously – will also go down in the annals of the unit. The unit itself was also decorated with the Order of Lenin.

Rocky though the land may be, all around there are huge plantations of orange and lemon trees in full bloom. Their aroma pervades the air. Far away on the horizon one can see the white caps of the Spin Ghar mountain range surrounding Jalalabad valley, while right here between the buildings of the military unit, olive and cherry-plum trees flourish and, unexpectedly, among them one comes across Russian weeping willows.

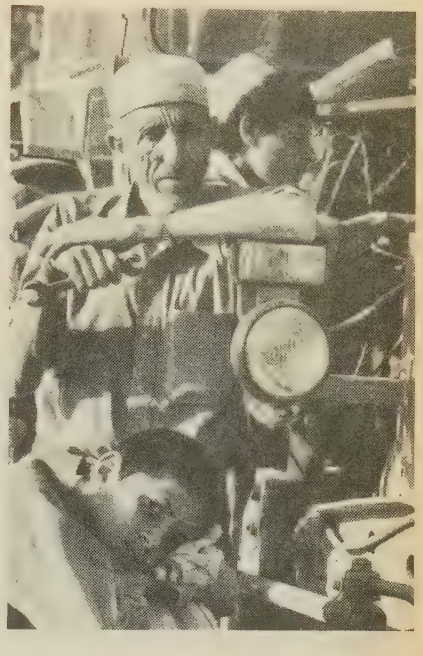
"See how they have grown in 8 years. We planted them as soon as we made our headquarters here," said my companion Lieutenant Colonel A. Rashidov from the political department. He was a captain when he first came to Afghanistan, and is now doing his second tour of duty there. "For the first three years," he told me, "we lived in tents while we were building barracks, a canteen and a soldiers' club. Now we shall be turning all that over to our Afghan friends, the border guards..."

Soldiers are busy on the sports grounds around the barracks – clearing up the territory and repairing various premises. Some of the soldiers are working in the garages, servicing the vehicles that have a thousand-kilometre journey ahead of them along mountain roads. Supplies of ammunition are being replenished, since no one can rule out possible attacks en route.

I asked the soldiers how they, as one of the first to leave Afghanistan, feel about their departure.

"Of course, all of us are looking forward impatiently to returning to our own country," replied Pavel Prokopchuk from Rostov. "We've had our fill, and we are very glad that our boys will never have to go through what we did...."

At the headquarters of the unit, its commanding officer Lieutenant Colonel V. Avlasenko briefed me on the military and political situation in the Nangarhar Province. Following the signing of the Geneva Accords the situation in the border areas has become more complex, as the rebels have stepped up activities. The number of caravans with weapons coming from across the border increased



All Afghan peasants, old and young, dream of peace on their soil.

dramatically after April 14. And they began to cross not only at night, as in the past, but during the day too. Among the weapons being brought in there are American artillery Stinger rockets and British Blowpipes.

The Chairman of the Provincial Extreme Commission on National Reconciliation, Kukhat Khan was busy with visitors when I sought him out in Jalalabad. When they left, Kukhat Khan explained that they were authorized representatives of the Shinwari tribe, who had recently arrived from Pakistani refugee camps.

"Now that the Geneva Accords have been signed," he said, "the people's faith in people's power has increased, as they can see that our government sincerely seeks national agreement and a coalition with any Afghan circles for the sake of stopping the bloodshed and establishing peace and calm on Afghan soil. The refugees too are coming increasingly to believe in this. More than 25,000 have already returned to our province. And the flow is growing. We are doing all we can to supply them with food, shelter and other prime necessities. In this we are greatly helped by selfless aid from the Soviet Union."

At the main headquarters

The chief headquarters of the limited contingent of Soviet troops (LCST) in Afghanistan occupy an old palace on Mount Topai-Tajibek in the southern suburbs of the Afghan capital. Both Soviet

and foreign correspondents are now often to be seen there. They all want to know what our troops are doing on the eve of their return home and what the order of the withdrawal will be.

A big map of Afghanistan lay on one of the tables. Red circles on it indicated the deployment of our military garrisons along the border. The Chief of the Political Department of the LCST, Major General A. Zakharov, described the day-to-day work of our units, pointing first to one, then another of the red circles on the map.

"The troops are carrying on with their duties, which involve the defence and protection of communications, roads, pipelines, power stations and other economic installations. But at the same time, the garrisons stationed along the Pakistani and Iranian borders are preparing for their return home.

"Many of our units," the Major General continued, "are engaged in civilian work – rebuilding roads and bridges destroyed during the war, and building schools and homes for refugees."

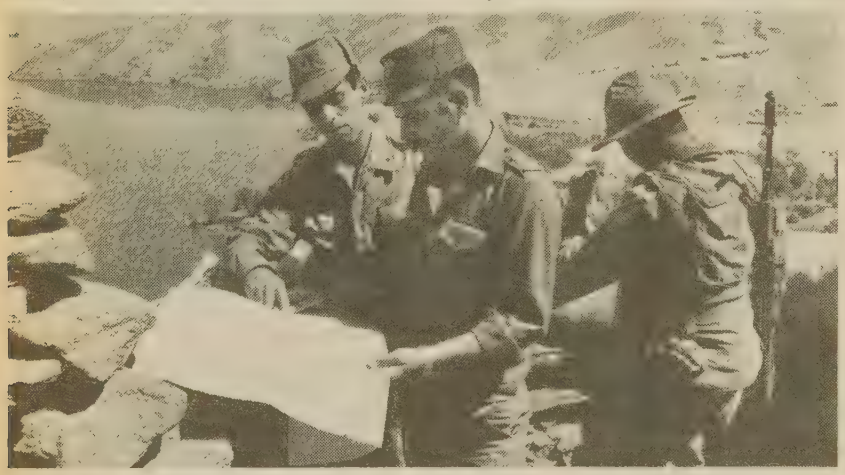
Some of the intelligence and paratrooper units of the limited contingent are involved in operations against the caravans bringing weapons and ammunition that continue to pour in from Pakistan. At the headquarters I was also given information about the seizure of such caravans. Here are just a few examples for the second half of April, that is, after the Geneva package was signed.

At 8.40 p.m. on April 16, the reconnaissance squad under Senior Lieutenant Voinov discovered a caravan carrying weapons 26 km east of Ghazni. In the ensuing battle 15 rebels were killed, 25 missiles of different types and 9 anti-tank mines destroyed. Our troops suffered no casualties.

At 11.20 a.m. on April 19, a group commanded by Major Vorobyov detected a caravan with weapons 52 km northwest of Jalalabad. They killed 18 rebels, destroyed 140 rockets and a large number of rifle cartridges. There were no casualties on our side.

At 11.10 p.m. on April 24, a group led by Senior Lieutenant Dubov found a caravan with weapons 10 km to the southeast of the Barak settlement. As a result of the battle 13 rebels and 56 pack animals were killed, and 120 missiles, 163 rounds of ammunition for grenade launchers, and 300 mines of different types were destroyed. One of our men was killed.

All in all, more than 50 caravans with weapons were detected and destroyed in April. Naturally, units of the Afghan army also took an active part in these operations.



Soviet soldiers handing over a mountain road post to their Afghan comrades-in-arms.

These photographs were taken quite recently by Izvestia's photographers Alexander Sekretaryov and Sergei Sevruk. On May 4, the armoured carrier with the two reporters on board was ambushed. The attack left Alexander dead, and Sergei gravely wounded.

A loss of life is always a tragedy, all the more so when a young man dies with the long-coveted peace in offing. The New Times journalists pay homage to the memory of Alexander Sekretaryov and all those who have not returned from Afghanistan.

An interview with the Defence Minister

A couple of days ago I visited the Defence Ministry of Afghanistan and was received by Colonel General Mohammad Rafi, Minister of Defence, a member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

In a short interview, he underlined that Afghanistan was now at a turning point. Following the Geneva Accords, all true patriots had stepped up their activities for the establishment of peace. The opposition, however, still pinned its hopes on force of arms and was bent on further pursuing the fratricidal war. This applied first and foremost to the Union of the Seven, which had categorically rejected the policy of national reconciliation and the Geneva Accords. Opposition armed units were continuing daily attacks on the guard posts of the Afghan army and people's militia, as well as on border guard units. All in all, the general said, the rebels have in the past year violated the cease-fire proclaimed by the Afghan government more than 4,200 times, i.e. on average 10-15 times a day.

Some of the Western mass media echoes the claims of the Peshawar Seven that, following the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the Afghan army "will be unable to hold out for even a day." I asked the minister his opinion of such claims.

"We do not advocate a military, forced solution to our internal problems, the basic problems of the continued existence of our state," he replied. "We favour the settlement of all disputes, not on the battlefield, but by peaceful political means. As for the fighting capability of the Afghan army, we realize full well that when the Soviet limited contingent is withdrawn, the entire responsibility for the defence of our people's gains will fall on the shoulders of the Afghan army, on all the country's armed forces. Personally I have no doubts that our armed forces, all their branches, will staunchly defend their country and repell any enemy attacks.

"I should like to use this opportunity," General M. Rafi said in conclusion, "to express sincere gratitude to the Soviet government, and to all the Soviet people for their fraternal assistance in strengthening the Afghan army, their active support of the process of national reconciliation in our country. Our special gratitude goes to the Soviet soldiers who, in performance of their internationalist duty, stood shoulder to shoulder with us in the hardest times of our history and fought in our most difficult battles for the sake of the happy and peaceful future of the Afghan people.

"Long live the unbreakable friendship between the Afghan and the Soviet people!" those words in two languages – Russian and Dari – are engraved on a monument at the pinnacle of which is a five-cornered star. It was erected a short while ago in the park in the centre of Kabul surrounding the Afghan Defence Ministry. From there one can see practically the entire capital, and the majestic granite monument is visible from afar. On it are engraved the names of the Heroes of the Soviet Union who gave their lives in the battles on Afghan territory. Here are their names: Privates V. Arsenov and N. Anfinogenov, Guard Corporal A. Koryavin, Guard Senior Sergeants N. Chepik, A. Mironenko, Lieutenants A. Demakov, G. Demchenko, N. Kuznetsov, and A. Shakhvorostov, Senior Lieutenants V. Zadorozhny and N. Shornikov, Majors A. Oparin and V. Gaynutdinov, and Lieutenant Colonels N. Kovalyov, A. Levchenko and P. Ruban.

Kabul, May

Forty years later

ALEXANDER ZOTOV and VLADIMIR NOSENKO

On May 14, 1948, a ceremony was held at the museum on Rothschild Avenue in Tel Aviv to sign the declaration of independence of the state of Israel. On the final day of Britain's mandate for Palestine, the then leader of the Jewish community David Ben Gurion read out the declaration on the establishment of a Jewish state in the land of Israel based on natural and historic rights and the appropriate resolution of the U.N. General Assembly.

David Ben Gurion ruled Israel, with short breaks, until 1963. In his speech forty years ago he chose not to mention the fact that the appropriate U.N. General Assembly resolution on the establishment of a Jewish state in Israel provided at the same time for the recognition of the natural right of the Arab people of Palestine to an independent state of their own.

Indigenous aliens and alien aborigines

The Zionist leadership of Israel has never deviated since those days from its policy of ignoring the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination in their own homeland. The founders of the state of Israel viewed all of Palestine as the historic homeland of the Jews. The Zionists looked upon the Arabs as usurpers.

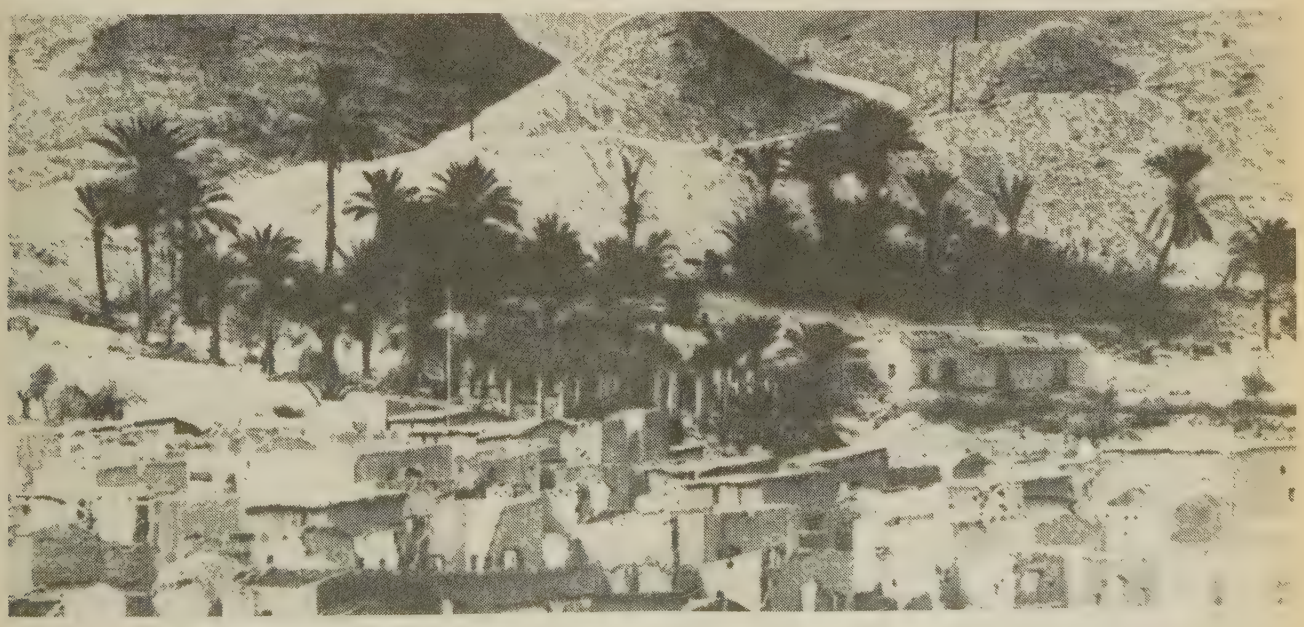
In his book of reminiscences, Andrei Gromyko who led the Soviet delegation to the U.N. forty years ago recalls that, "having acted from the start in favour of the establishment of Israel, the Soviet Union proceeded from its principled stand that the Jewish people have a right to independent statehood just as the Arab people of Palestine do. That right of the Jewish people was corroborated by what they had to go through during WW II as a result of nazi atrocities."

Incidentally, Ben Gurion and subsequent Israeli leaders paid tribute to the U.S.S.R. for saving hundreds of thousands of Jews during WW II and pledged that it would never be forgotten by any Jew in Israel or in the world at large.

Israel is marking its 40th anniversary in a situation of extreme tension. The Arab uprising in the occupied Palestinian territories that erupted in December 1987 has revealed the profound contradictions in Israeli society arising in large measure from the fact that the Middle East conflict has not yet been settled. More and more Israelis are now beginning to understand that, far from strengthening Israeli security, the occupation of the Arab lands reduces it and is gradually turning into a time bomb. The consequences of the protracted conflict with the Arabs are very much in evidence in Israel. They manifest themselves in the lopsided development of its economy, geared as it is to the war industry, its huge external debt, its growing political and economic dependence on the United States.

Right-wing pressure

As from 1984, the leading party blocs of the country, Maarach and Likud, have made up "the government of national unity" of Israel. They represent various ideological trends in Zionism which are largely social-reformist and revisionist. In the 1940s and 1950s the Israeli Social Zionists dissociated themselves from the ultra right-wing revisionist Herut Party. Later on that party came to form and lead the Likud. Over the past 40 years, Herut has not softened its approaches to key



Jericho. A demolished refugee camp.

Photo by Manfred Scholz, F.R.G.

domestic or foreign policy issues at all. Its opponents have had to reconcile themselves, however, to Likud's seven-year rule between 1977 and 1984 and adapt to it. Their cohabitation continues now at Cabinet level, but to this day the two blocs are frequently at loggerheads. The fact remains that the Socialists cooperate with their opponents within the same government, having abandoned much of their earlier stance under pressure from the right.

This has led to a moral and political climate where ultra right-wing elements, and among them semifascist groupings such as Kah, openly bid for power. The prospects for the political domination of the country by these forces create a real threat to the parties of the left, progressive parties, as well as to all parties with Social Zionist leanings. Likud has dominated the government since 1977, and the years of its rule have demonstrated that having come to power it is engaged in an all-out offensive on the opposition. The pro-fascist groups have to all intents and purposes been given a free hand and this has on many occasions led to brutal acts of violence and even assassinations. Likud is in fact following a policy of curtailing bourgeois democratic liberties in the country.

Sober politicians have already begun to feel concern. In March 1988 the then Foreign Minister Abba Eban expressed the view that Israeli democracy is in jeopardy as a result of the continued occupation of Arab lands.

Maarach's useless formulas

It was on the strength of domestic political considerations that the leadership of the Maarach bloc introduced corrections to its foreign policy line between 1985 and 1987. Among other things, it acknowledged the need for an international conference on the Middle East, although it gave its own interpretation of the functions of any such forum, reducing them to formally opening and closing direct talks between the parties to the conflict. In the autumn of 1987, the leader of the bloc Shimon Peres officially acknowledged the need to settle the Palestinian problem in all of its aspects.

The modification of the stand taken by the Maarach bloc cannot eclipse the fact that its leaders clearly lack the political vision and courage to abandon the stereotypes in their approach to the substance and methods of settlement. Essentially the position of the bloc is still based on ignoring the vital interests of all other parties to the conflict. It looks upon the "peace process" as a series of direct but unrelated talks where Israel would dictate the terms of peace. As they press for that particular model of settlement, the leaders of Maarach are firmly in the grip of the hopelessly outmoded notion of Israel bargaining for peace with the Arabs from a position of strength, and dealing with the Arabs as victors deal with the vanquished.

In his reminiscences, the prominent international Zionist figure Nahum Goldmann quotes Ben Gurion's reasons for believing Israel to be doomed to an eternal struggle against the Arabs. "If I were an Arab leader," he said, "I would never make terms with Israel. That is natural: we have taken their country. Sure, God promised it to us, but what does that matter to them? Our God is not theirs... There has been anti-semitism, the nazis, Hitler, Auschwitz, but was that their fault?"

One feels compelled to agree with Ben Gurion; the Arabs had no reason to rejoice at the formation of the state of Israel. But do they have enough realism to accept the prospect of a peaceful Arab-Israeli settlement? We feel certain that they do. All that remains is for the Israeli leaders to understand that peace in the region cannot be based on a balance of forces, which is bound to be unstable, but rather on mutual recognition of each other's interests. In other words it must be a just peace.

The unambiguously negative stand of Maarach on the PLO's participation in the process of settlement also demonstrates its commitment to stereotypes that are twenty years old. As in the 1960s, the PLO is described as a terrorist organization. In a bid to avoid adopting a constructive approach to the Palestinian issue Maarach is ignoring the realism shown by the PLO in respect of the future of Palestine-Israeli relations and the readiness of the organization to take responsible decisions. It has turned a blind eye to the PLO's standing among the Arab people of Palestine which assures it every chance of implementing such decisions.

Maarach's policy is worth also discussing because the bloc dominated by the Labour Party claims to be the reasonable nucleus of Israeli society and custodian of its ideals and values. In the run-up to this year's Parliamentary elections, the Maarach leaders and especially Shimon Peres, have been emphasizing their flexibility in approaching the problem of achieving peace with the Arabs on the one hand, and talking of the dangers inherent in Likud's policies and the more right-wing groups on the other. This has, however, been confined to public pronouncements and in reality the Maarach leadership, as a rule, succumbs to pressure from the right and joins Likud in acts of violence against the Palestinians. Political manoeuvring is clearly a malaise of the leaders of Social Zionism and it prevents Maarach from acting as an effective alternative to the forces that are urging Israel to become an ultra-nationalistic society dominated by a spirit of militarism and expansionism.

Acting against national egoism

The polarization of Israeli society into doves and hawks is growing increasingly bitter. On the one hand, the majority of Israelis, swayed by right-wing Zionist slogans, are demanding that the lands captured in 1967 be held onto. They are prepared to accept any ruthless extremes in order to prevent the Arabs from getting back their land. On the other hand, there are people who aspire to a peaceful future for the country and normal relations with its neighbours.

The progressive forces led by the Communist Party are committed to the most consistent and principled stand with regard to the issues of war and peace. Lately liberal circles have begun to demand actively that the occupation of the Arab lands be ended and aggressive policies abandoned. Being drawn along with the progressive forces they acknowledge the need to review the basis for relations with their Arab neighbours and the part and place of Israel in the Middle East but, at the same time, liberal circles and progressive forces differ over a whole range of issues concerning a Middle East settlement, and especially over the PLO's part in seeking peace.

It is, however, highly significant that liberal circles have come actively to reject the official approach to the issue of settlement.

There are grounds for believing that on the whole Israel is tired of the long-

running conflict with the Arabs. More and more opponents as well as supporters of Zionism are beginning to feel that the brutal policies towards the Arabs in the occupied territories and the government's moves, which effectively undermine every chance for peace, are a logical extension of the basic foreign policy stance adopted at the initial stage of the conflict with the Arabs.

National egoism has been the guiding principle of Israel's foreign policy from the very start. The state of Israel was conceived as a purely Jewish state and that is why the Arabs were mercilessly driven from their native land during the 1948-49 war and before it. The Jewish state needed more room to accommodate "exiles" from all parts of the world, and that is why it adopted annexation as an official policy. A policy based on national egoism could not but become ultimately essentially amoral. Several generations of young people have joined the Israeli army to take direct part in brutal repressions against the Palestinians since 1967. Many Israelis have become involved in one way or another in the economic exploitation of the occupied territories. The occupation system is systematically corrupting Israeli society by spreading cruelty, cynicism, the cult of brute force, and feelings of superiority over other peoples. The Israeli Premier Itzhak Shamir has even gone so far as to compare the Palestinians to plagues of locust.

Dreams that have never come true

The Israeli press has responded to the anniversary with a spate of articles both apologetic and critical. It must be said in fairness that in recent years there has sometimes been sharp criticism of the past in the Israeli press. It has not always coincided with anniversaries. Zionist publications in the West have also sometimes been critical of Israel. This reflects the growing dissatisfaction with Israeli reality as compared with the image of the state of Jews from all over the world envisaged by the founding fathers of the Zionist movement.

Israel has never become the spiritual and intellectual focus or the source of cultural values for Jews throughout the world, contrary to the hopes of Zionist ideologists at the turn of the century, for instance Asher Ginsberg (Ahad Haam). The main reason for this is the continued buildup of military power, which has been draining the strength and intellectual potential of Israeli society.

Israel has failed to become the homeland for Jews, from all over the world, contrary to the provisions of the ideological doctrine of Zionism. The permanent hostilities, constant economic problems, rows involving top party and government offices, gross violations of basic democratic norms, growing intercommunal strife, and the domination of Judaic clericalism in secular affairs detract considerably from Israel's image as the promised land.

The rate of immigration to Israel has for a long time been low, while at the same time the number of Israelis moving to other Western countries, especially the United States, has been increasing steadily.

The fundamental principle of political Zionism whereby the Jewish state is meant for Jews alone has led to an insular society in Israel and the unnatural division of the country into 800 thousand non-Jews and 3.6 million Jews.

The constant brainwashing of the Israelis in a spirit of confrontation with the "ingrained anti-semitism" of all other nations has increased Israel's alienation from its neighbours and the rest of the world. The Israeli rulers have gone so far as to declare that any criticism of their policies is the manifestation of "world anti-semitism." The Israelis are constantly told that their country can only survive if it is run as a "fortress state."

It would be quite appropriate to quote Nahum Goldmann once again here. In the mid-70s he said that Israel's real history has not yet begun, and that the current stage is merely a prelude... The stage of founding and consolidating the state will not be completed until peace has been established and Israel has been recognized by the Arab states.

Myths and reality

In conclusion we would like to touch upon another issue and one that has been causing concern for the Israelis, the absence of official relations between Israel and the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union recognized the state of Israel without delay after it had been formed and established diplomatic relations with it immediately. During the subsequent two decades certain problems emerged in our relations, which is only natural for two countries with different ideological, social, and political systems, but on the whole ties between the two countries developed along stable lines. In June 1967 the Soviet Union and other socialist countries broke off diplomatic relations with Israel in response to the Israeli aggression against the Arab nations and Israel's refusal to rectify the situation immediately. During the entire subsequent period the Soviet stand has been that practical steps towards restoring relations depend on Israel itself and above all on whether it puts an end to its aggressive policies and takes action to normalize the situation in the Middle East. But whatever upheavals have taken place in the Middle East since 1967 or whatever turns the international situation has taken over the past two decades, the Soviet Union has never questioned the legitimacy of Israel. In his book "Perestroika: New thinking for our country and the world," Mikhail Gorbachev reiterated the principled Soviet stand on the issue: "I want to stress that we do not bear any hostility toward Israel in principle. We recognize its legitimate right to existence." This is a clear-cut reply to the extremist forces that have not yet abandoned the idea of destroying the Israeli state.

The process of restructuring under way in the Soviet Union has been arousing great interest in Israel. The Israeli public are aware that any manifestations of ethnic intolerance, including anti-semitism, are promptly rebuffed at both public and official levels, especially now in the conditions of democratization and openness. That is why less and less Israelis believe in the myth of Soviet state-sponsored anti-semitism.

Myths must be relegated to the past, but there is a real problem – the incompatibility of Marxism-Leninism and Zionism. Indeed, the ideology of proletarian internationalism and the Zionist theory of "world Jewish nation" contradict each other directly in explaining the origins and ways of dealing with the so-called Jewish question. We are not out to impose our own ideology on anyone and we are prepared to respect the choice made by others. Ideological differences must not be allowed to determine the nature of international relations in the world today. The concrete political behavior of nations must determine it. As the authors of this article have had many occasions to point out, Israel owes a great debt to the world community as far as respect for the rights of other nations and for the basic norms of international conduct is concerned.

Economic and social factors

ANDREI KUTEINIKOV, Cand. Sc. (Econ.)

Can we learn competition from capitalists? Why not?

When we say "the mechanism of scientific and technological progress," we presume that all of us – or at least those who are supposed to keep scientific and technological progress going – realize full well what this expression signifies. So what leverage can we use to accelerate this progress?

On closer inspection it turns out that not only the arrangement but also the functions of this mechanism are far from clear. What's more, our engineers and economic managers have an inadequate idea of the very notion of scientific and technological progress (STP). More often than not, this notion is associated with new machinery, which implies that the more robots, NC machine tools, automated systems and Don-1500 combine harvesters we have, the stronger our economy will be. Economic progress is believed to derive from the progress made in technology.

This is a dangerous view because it is based on technical rather than economic thinking. Such thinking is akin to religion: both come down to fetishism. A thing as such – be it an icon, a robot or a computer – becomes an end in itself. Its utility recedes into the background. As a result, there appear robots with a payback period of 90 years, and automatic control systems whose cost adds to, rather than detracts from, production management costs. This situation will persist for as long as innovations are not justified above all by economic considerations.

After all, the robot was invented not for its own sake, but in order to do the jobs of several human workers (and, consequently, to save on their wages), and improve product quality thus enhancing its competitiveness. It is only logical that an innovation should return its price and maintenance costs with interest. Scientific and technological progress should be governed by economic laws, and not vice versa. This is borne out by the record of other countries.

Industrial robots: products of research effort or entrepreneurial competition?

Why are technical innovations developed and put to commercial use on a mass scale in capitalist countries? Because this is demanded by the laws of the economy. In those countries there is no special STP mechanism apart from that of the economy at large. The joint operation of the laws of cost, profit and competition forms a special medium which generates scientific and technological progress practically nonstop. It is scientific and technological progress that capitalists depend on today for competitiveness, cost-effectiveness and rate of adaptation to shifts in market demand.

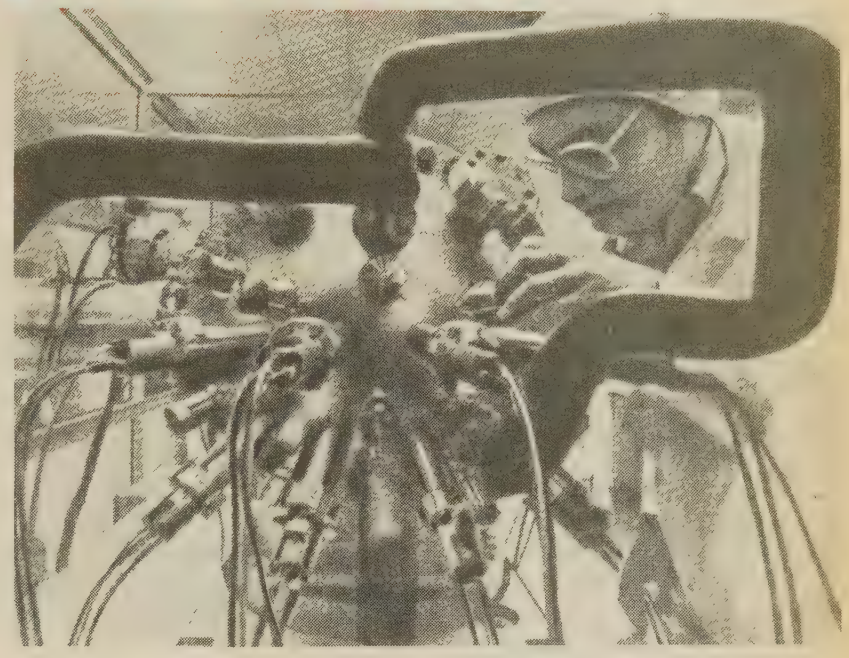
Using unique scientific and technological knowledge, each individual producer, whether big or small, can make a monopoly profit. The very uniqueness of his scientific knowledge gives him this chance by enabling him to make products with no analogues on the market and to employ novel, more efficient manufacturing techniques. After he has launched a new product, a manufacturer can have a monopoly for some time, an American marketing expert R. Hartley remarked.

In turn, the fact of a company gaining a monopoly and making superprofits as a result compels other manufacturers to break down the monopoly and share in the profits. Innovations based on the latest achievements of science and technology are used as weapons in this competition.

# of technological progress

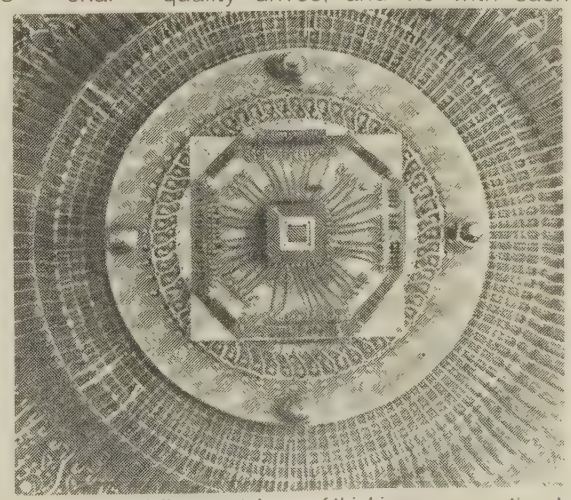
The specific role played by innovations as means of competition, and the innovative companies' part in the overall qualitative improvement of the capitalist economy have found their theoretical generalization in the "entrepreneurial competition" theory of the Austrian economist J. Schumpeter. Any innovation, the theory goes, is the chief factor in changing the alignment of forces among economic entities. Even highly monopolized markets are not immune to intruders (a corporation from a different line of business, or a small company) who by their ingenious innovations, seek to surpass the manufacturing techniques and supersede the products of the monopoly reigning supreme in a given market. This challenge sometimes compels even the corporations, which all but monopolize the market, to resort to tough competitive policies.

In normal competition, there is a party which invariably wins – the consumer



This unit, installed at a F.R.G. factory, produces monocrystals for solid-state microcircuitry. We are far behind in this sphere, too...

The record of progress of high-technology industries in the industrialized capitalist countries goes to show that competition makes it a matter of life and death for manufacturers to develop new products and use the latest technology. Falling behind scientific and technological progress spells bankruptcy. Therefore, the tougher the competition, the fewer new ideas a manufacturer "shelves" for later use, and the more promptly these new ideas are embodied in new products and rushed onto the market.



If only some civil servants' way of thinking were as rational as this computer chip's circuit design is!

Capitalist companies use all sorts of methods in their fight for the market such as price competition, and quality drives, and vie with each other for natural resources. A manufacturer operating in a highly competitive market is compelled to keep reducing production and marketing costs, continuously improve the quality of his products, and expand the range of after-sale services. The more promising a market, the tougher the competition, and the harder it is to win it. In normal competition, however, there is a party which always stands to win – I mean the consumer. Are there any laws setting the optimum competition level for scientific and technological progress? The record of developed capitalist countries shows that the most innovative branches comprise, as a rule, a multitude of manufacturing companies: a few big corporations plus tens, hundreds or even thousands of middle and small businesses. A situation where marketing remains competitive and where the main rivals possess substantial monetary and material resources is regarded as most favourable to a high level of innovative activity in industry. On the other hand, innovation is much less likely to flourish in a market dominated by tens and hundreds of roughly equally small manufacturers, each

suffering from a shortage of resources.

Monopoly is regarded as the situation least favourable to innovative activity. However, a complete monopoly is a phenomenon which is practically nonexistent in capitalist economic practice. As soon as a company starts making monopoly superprofits, the market it operates in is immediately invaded by competitors. The relative ease of capital transfer from industry to industry and from country to country facilitates profit redistribution. Characteristically, the bourgeois state takes anti-trust action to prevent the monopolization of the markets.

Genuine competition presupposes democratization of economic relations

This is nothing to be surprised at. After all, "choice and competition are indispensable objective prerequisites for the viability or, at least, adequate efficiency of any economic system," the well-known Soviet economist Nikolai Shmelyov writes. "Universal commodity deficiency and the dictatorship of the producer is not a situation where the latter would seek new technological ideas – unless compelled to do so. Any monopoly inevitably leads to stagnation, and absolute monopoly – to absolute stagnation."

If we are really to build up a healthy economy capable of keeping abreast of scientific and technological progress, we should not be afraid of competition, which is a perfectly natural manifestation of commodity production and market relations. "The market was not invented by capitalism. It possesses a number of general economic characteristics inherent in any system based on a developed division of labour and commodity-money relations." This is what Academician Leonid Abalkin, Director of the Institute of Economics under the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, has to say about the "legality" of the market under socialism.

Further progress in commodity-money relations in the Soviet economy and the problems associated with producer monopoly are certain to compel us to set the stage for real competition between various economic entities. Given no such competition, any acceleration of scientific and technological progress is out of the question. While having made almost a fetish of what we call "emulation," most of us wince at the sound of the word "competition," although both words actually mean the same thing.

Real competition presupposes the democratization of economic relations, i.e.,the producer's real right to choose his suppliers, agree on prices and delivery schedules with them, and use his earnings as he thinks fit. Another vital precondition is freedom to expand the economic entities (enterprises) already in operation, and set up new ones.

It follows from the above that democracy, competition and scientific and technological progress are inseparable. The latter is impossible without the former two. If we realize this and take appropriate action, the economic picture may change for the better. Nevertheless, the technocratic approach to problems of scientific and technological progress still prevails in our country. Our ministries and departments would rather draw up long- and medium-term scientific and technological programmes than grant real economic independence to factories and amalgamations, and provide favourable conditions for the development of cooperatives which might offer competition to monopoly state-run producers.

It looks as if the central economic bodies are still under the delusion that scientific and technological progress is governed not by economic laws, but by their decisions. This view is fraught with the danger of our lagging further and further behind the West technologically. The acceleration of this progress in the capitalist world leaves no room for groundless technological optimism and complacency.

Photo from Süddeutsche Zeitung (F.R.G.)

Cooperatives: the growing pains

The Bill on Cooperatives will be at the top of the agenda of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet when it meets for its session in Moscow on May 24.

The Bill is being hotly debated in the press, by workers and collective farmers, scientists, and, of course, members of cooperatives.

The U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences' Institute of Economics recently sponsored a Round Table discussion of the Bill. Taking part were representatives of the U.S.S.R. Ministries of Justice and Finance,the State Committee for Labour and Social Affairs, the Housing and Social Services Bank (Zhilsotsbank), the Moscow City Council Executive, and various cooperatives.

The Decree "On the Taxation of Citizens Working in Cooperatives," which came into effect on April 1, 1988, has provoked fierce arguments.

Breaking new ground

Leonid Abalkin,
Academician, Director of the Institute of Economics, U.S.S.R Academy of Sciences.

The new cooperatives are gaining in strength. The results of their activity are already in evidence: they sell consumer goods and render various services including some that are not offered by the state. The cooperatives are a pioneering and creative project relying on initiative and social enterprise, and there are no ready recipes here. The Law on Cooperatives is called upon to provide the necessary guarantees and ensure the conditions and strategy for their development.

An urgent question to which the Law must provide an answer is the place and terms of reference of the local Soviets (Councils). From the experience of the past year, their role in the emergence of the new cooperatives is in many ways crucial. Whenever the Executive Councils have thrown their weight behind the cooperative movement, the movement has developed and been able to survive many teething troubles. But the reverse is also true.

Lev Nikiforov,
Cand. Sc. (Economics), Head of Department, the Institute of Economics, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

The recent Congress of Collective Farmers pronounced itself unequivocally in favour of cooperatives, proclaiming them to be an enduring phenomenon, and an essential element of socialism. The past year has been marked by a struggle against attempts to arrest the development of the cooperatives, and sometimes even to thwart it. The struggle is still going on.

Why, then, does the movement meet with such fierce resistance? I think the cooperatives are the most important growth point of perestroika. While in other spheres people are still talking about the need for perestroika, here we already see something tangible and living. Consequently, open and implicit opposition to the further deepening and development of the cooperative movement amounts to opposition to perestroika itself. Needless to say, the cooperatives are pinning great hopes on the Law, which they hope will provide protection for them. New types of cooperative are varying in kind and it is now evident that cooperatives can exist in practically every sphere of economic activity. But for the restrictions contained in the Decree on the development of cooperatives, they would have become much more widespread.

In the Moscow region, where the cooperative movement is making better headway than in many other areas, the local executive committees of the Soviets often take it upon themselves to determine what a given region needs, and what it doesn't, and to permit or ban this or that cooperative accordingly. There are examples galore of refusals or delays in registering cooperatives under various specious pretexts. The Bill on cooperatives clarifies this issue. This is to be welcomed, but this is not enough. The Law must straighten out many other issues concerning the cooperative movement.

What form will new cooperatives take? Former regulations proceeded from the assumption that cooperatives are small artels manned by people for whom working there represents secondary employment (old age pensioners, students, and so on). There was considerable vagueness about the sources of raw and other materials.

In practice, everything turned out to be different. Many of the new cooperatives quickly began to evolve into major enterprises with an organized cycle of production requiring a constant work force, uninterrupted material and technical supplies, a pattern of economic links with other enterprises, and even the right to go onto the international market. The "Phoenix" cooperative, for example, sells timber-processing waste to Finland. Similar ties are being established by other cooperatives, and there is a long waiting list of cooperatives wishing to do the same thing.

It is said that the incomes of members of cooperatives should be regulated by economic and not administrative methods, that is, not by putting limits on earnings, but, say, by imposing progressive taxation. The rationale behind this is clear. However, taxation alone – including the tax operating now – cannot solve all the problems. Taxation must be differentiated. But it has to be carefully thought out to avoid the unhappy experience of the progressive tax on the incomes of members of cooperatives. As soon as monthly earnings pass the 700-ruble mark, incentives for further expansion of the cooperative fall dramatically, and disappear altogether beyond the 1,000-ruble mark.

Tamara Kuznetsova,
Cand. Sc. (Economics), Leading Research Worker, the Institute of Economics, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences

The record of the NEP (New Economic Policy) shows that cooperatives can only realize their potential in a market-oriented economy, and given support of the state. Other factors of success are their diversity and close interaction. Having changed its policy with regard to cooperatives credits (a fund of 20 million rubles was set up to stimulate the formation of collective farms), exempted them from taxation (if their turnover did not ex–

ceed 20,000 rubles or if they did not have trade outlets and were small) and from licensing fees (members of cooperatives working at home were exempt from paying for a license to produce extra goods if they turned out the allotted quota of goods to the artel).

Cooperatives revealed a diversity of forms and by 1926-27 met 80-90 per cent of industry's demand for cotton, beetroot, and tobacco, and 35-40 per cent of the demand for flax and wool. The share of cooperatives in the trade turnover amounted to 52 per cent and the prices were 10-12 per cent lower than in private trade.

The present stage in the development of new forms of cooperative and the revival of the cooperative character of old forms means restoring the directions of socialist development outlined by Lenin. **At present it is not a question of reverting to the experience of those years, or transposing it to the present time, but of redressing the distortions in social development in general and the development of cooperatives in particular.**

Cooperatives and state

Arkady Osipov,
Deputy Head of Department, U.S.S.R. Ministry of Finance.

The controversial question of the earnings of members of cooperatives has been raised prematurely, so to speak. The average earnings of the members of the 14,000 cooperatives existing today come to 270 rubles per capita. This is above the national average, but it is not an astronomical figure. It will be some time before the 500-ruble mark is passed.

Legislation, and any legal norm is aimed at honest people. The Law should not provoke illegal action. To my mind, the Decree was a rather hastily concocted piece of legislation. The bulk of the cooperative workers receive well-earned wages by cutting down on managerial staff, increasing labour productivity, and working longer hours. **Today the Decree does not affect the majority of cooperative members, but tomorrow it will affect not only individuals but the cooperative movement as a whole.**

Galina Loginova,
Chief Economist, Board of Crediting and Financing Cooperatives and Individual Labour Activity, U.S.S.R. Housing and Social Services Bank (Zhilsotsbank).

We get more and more applications from local branches of cooperatives who want to open an account with our bank. A car-repair cooperative based in Naberezhniye Chelny would like to have branches in Moscow and Minsk. In this case the banks can open accounts, but only with the knowledge of the Executive Committee on whose territory the cooperative branch is situated.

A cooperative can go to any bank where it would like to have an account, whether it be the Zhilsotsbank, the Promstroibank (Industrial Construction Bank) or Agrobank. The cooperative can have an account wherever is most convenient for it. But it should be borne in mind that a cooperative is a legal entity and can only have an account in one bank office.

Lev Pushkov,
Deputy Head of the Economic Legislation Board, U.S.S.R. Ministry of Justice

The price-regulating mechanism as formulated in the Bill has come in for criticism from the press. The Bill says in black and white that the cooperative realizes the goods and services it offers at prices fixed by the cooperative itself, or at agreed market prices.

The fact that permission has to be obtained for the formation of a cooperative has also been criticized. I think a misunderstanding is involved here. All the Bill says is that the charter of the cooperative is subject to registration, and from the moment of registration the cooperative is officially recognized. In what cases can the bodies registering the charter and the executive committees of the local Soviets refuse registration? Only when the charter contravenes existing legislation.

Yuri Vinogradov,
Deputy Head of Department, Moscow City Supply Board

I am surprised at the stand of the Ministry of Justice spokesman, who has been rejecting all criticism during the course of this discussion. The Bill is a wide-ranging and comprehensive document, but this does not mean that it is flawless, and that all of its provisions are acceptable. We are having a discussion, and we should discuss the Bill and not try to prove that it is an excellent one.

We must take into account the sense of legal impotence prevailing in the land among civil servants, workers, and members of the intelligentsia. Everyone interprets laws in his own way. Every chairman or technical secretary at the executive committee or official on the board (glavk) interprets the development of cooperatives as he likes. If we really want to bring order to the movement, we must agree on a single interpretation, and this can only be achieved by adopting a law.

The first Moscow cooperative of architects, called Akant, has been set up by seven young enthusiasts, winners of many competitions, who have repeatedly displayed their work at exhibitions in and outside the Soviet Union. The Russian Architects' Union has taken the new coop under its wing. Shown here are Oleg Gridasov, the cooperative's chairman (right) with his colleagues Natalia Rochegova and Vladimir Lomakin, the designers of an outdoor theatre for Kazan.

Photo by TASS

Getting What You Earn

Gennady Vaks,
Chairman of the Inventors' Cooperative Centre, Moscow

In the Bill on cooperatives the system of taxation is dubbed as a so-called supplementary act. The first "supplementary act" saw the light of day before the Law itself. It has been endorsed at every official level and has come down to us in the shape of the Decree on Taxation.

What will the consequences of the Decree be? First, I think it will give rise to a "shadow" cooperative economy which can be controlled with varying degrees of success only if a huge army of controllers is created, and the controllers themselves would have to be controlled to avoid corruption. Second, cooperatives where labour productivity is high will have to work shorter hours. Third, to remain within the law, members of cooperatives will have to include members of their families in the cooperative in order to avoid taxes and preserve the family budget. All this will reduce labour productivity and the cooperatives' contribution to the state budget.

Mansur Shangareyev,
Deputy Chairman of the Express Cooperative, Ulyanovsk

Being chairman of a cooperative has become dangerous. Believing that democracy and glasnost are here to stay, I have tried to criticize the regional bosses on several occasions. Public opinion varies from region to region. I can cite an example of how the mass media in Ulyanovsk tried to shape public opinion. Ulyanovskaya Pravda carried a report on a press conference at the regional administration for the interior which called for measures to combate prostitution, drug addiction, AIDS, and abuses by cooperatives. This is how public opinion is formed.

The Express cooperative has produced about 20 offshoots. I was involved in this as chairman of the cooperative, and I was accused of creating a cooperative mafia in my city. This explains my self-demotion.

The following amendment should be introduced to the bill: "In view of glasnost and democratization, to establish a newspaper and magazine for cooperators in 1988. The editorial board should consist of cooperative workers only."

Igor Rimsha,
Chairman of the Alan Cooperative, Moscow

You cannot write everything into the Law and foresee every specific situation that may arise.

But one sensitive issue is the prices for the products of cooperatives. What is the meaning of the following sentence in the Bill: "The cooperative shall not establish economically unsound prices"? The state of the economy determines whether the price of a cooperative's product is sound or not. The buyer will not buy if the price is exorbitant. The cooperative will not be able to pay its way if the prices are too low. The cooperative must be allowed to fix its prices independently, with two exceptions: when it has voluntarily taken a state order or when it obtains raw materials at fixed prices.

On the subject of tax. The decree on taxation seems to develop and expand on the provisions of the Bill under discussion, and on the introduction of progressive taxation. **Why has it been issued when there is no law on cooperatives yet? From the standpoint of our Soviet legislation, the decree has no right to existence.**

Sergei Cherenkov,
Chairman of the Prometheus Cooperative, Moscow

But why has it been published in the absence of the Law on Cooperatives? According to Soviet law, the Decree is illegal.

Let us remember how we started: nobody knew anything and nobody could offer competent advice. Some regulations were issued but locally everybody felt at liberty to interpret them as he liked. Luckily, many of us were tenacious enough to make a breach in the bureaucratic wall.

Now the cooperative movement is gaining momentum. But other hurdles have to be cleared: discontent with our prices and our incomes. An unfavourable public climate has been created and as a result we have a Decree on Taxation which strangles people the state needs. Our cooperative processes scrap metal. Collecting and processing scrap, we make products of artistic value.

A blacksmith at any state enterprise is paid 450 rubles and even more. Already it is possible to earn 700 rubles. Who can tell what the optimal level of pay for every worker should be? To people who tell me that I earn too much I reply: go ahead and earn as much as I do, but you have to work for it. **Earn, and not receive.**

Dmitry Ilyin,
Chairman of the Continent Cooperative, Moscow Region.

The administrative-bureaucratic system has its own interests. The emergent cooperative movement undermines its economic basis. It is not by chance that an executive committee closes down a cooperative on the grounds that its operations are not confined to its "own sphere."

The Law must be as comprehensive as possible, and it must clarify every provision.

Viktor Korchagin,
chairman of the Phoenix Cooperative, Moscow

Our cooperative has been inspected three times during the course of one year on suspicion of exploiting labour. It turned out that the wages of our workers are four times higher than at state enterprisees. Our managerial staff is a tenth of the size. None of the inspectors could point a finger at an instance of exploitation.

To solve the pricing question, we have withdrawn from the internal market. We export our caprolactam waste to Hungary. We have launched a joint venture with an Austrian firm to produce fuel briquettes for chimneys. We have opened an account with the Bank for Foreign Economic Affairs for a joint venture that will have the right to export and import goods.

As for the progressive tax, it is an instance of economic illiteracy. It will mean great losses to the state budget.

Let me give you an example. They have introduced a 500-rubles a year licence fee for private cabdrivers. I aswked some owners of private cars: "Why don't you take out a 500-ruble licence?" They replied that the risk is too great. If the licences cost less then more people would buy them. There would be more cars in the business and this would benefit passengers and the state, which would get more from selling licenses. Last, but not least, the car owners would stand to gain, and they would feel perestroika in their purses. Progressive taxation is bad for everyone.

The Round Table revealed difficulties in the emergent cooperative movement. These are due not only to the restructuring of the country's economic mechanism, but also to the fact that people have mixed feelings about cooperatives and often reject them.

The future of cooperatives is uncertain. Everything depends on the final Law on cooperatives and the safeguards it offers.

Compiled by
S. Dubov and T. Kuznetsova

Legality rehabilitating

YURI SHEVCHENKO

Perestroika and law enforcement

Like any other polysemantic word, perestroika has a wide range of interpretations: as a revolutionary change in the economic and social situation, a return to Leninist standards, a renewal and cleansing of socialism. Each definition is correct. It would equally be true to call perestroika the rehabilitation of legality.

The devaluation of law and morals and the arbitrary rule of the Stalin cult period had a painful effect on Soviet society. Thousands of innocent people died in camps and prisons as a result of the violation of the legal norms and principles worked out over the centuries. The "indictments" that led to the execution of Tukhachevsky and Bukharin, Koltsov and Vavilov, Babel and Meyerhold (and which have become public knowledge today) are a monstrous mockery of the law. The "Leningrad case" and the "doctors case" are also instances of the flouting of the law.

For decades the judicial bodies of the state defined the fundamental principles of the law, including the main principle of the presumption of innocence. Perjury became a terrible practice that sent people to the next world. Cunning theoreticians of illegality appeared. It is enough to recall the theories of Vyshinsky, who claimed that in cases of high treason "the explanations given by defendants inevitably acquire the character and significance of basic evidence." This opened the way to torture as a means of extorting the "basic evidence," and to self-perjury. The law was made an instrument of uncontrolled power.

The Communist Party and public opinion have unequivocally condemned the unlawful practices of Stalin's day. But to condemn these practices is one thing, and to eliminate them is quite another matter. The disease has caused extensive metastases and eaten deeply into the organism. Corruption, bribery, all-permissiveness, and punitive tendency in legal practices have not disappeared. The people who advocate them are merely lying low, going on the defensive. The system of administration by command was a bastion of lawlessness that acquired the form of harmonious legality. It is impossible to remove it in one fell swoop.

The forces who hinder perestroika are still powerful. Their strength is today evident at least from such a mass phenomenon as mutual "support." In the last few months the newspapers have published many disturbing cases of economic miscalculation, embezzlement, irresponsible decisions, and mere bungling. But where are the bunglers yesterday dismissed as redundant? Today they hold new posts of responsibility in a neighbouring department. Only a few of them have been punished. As soon as the fate of a given diehard bureaucrat is decided, many influential patrons appear to ward off the danger hanging over him. It appears that such a bureaucrat can still feel safe, and will energetically fight for his future, evading the law.

Mistrust will persist for a long time, mistrust of people in court and the judges who encouraged false charges, suspicion, and disrespect for the individual. Faith that justice is always done will be suspended for a long time to come. The restoration of confidence is proceeding with difficulty, though investigations are being conducted by such people as Telman Gdlyan and his group, who have returned to the state millions of rubles misappropriated by criminal officials and have made their names known to the public.

Nevertheless, I think that today we can speak of the rehabilitation of legality. The atmosphere in the country has changed for the better. We are treating each other more openly, with consideration and goodwill. We are witnessing what is called in theoretical parlance "the humanization of public relations." Enough of mutual intolerance, duplicity and hypocrisy. Let us build socialism in earnest, and not play (sometimes cruelly) with socialism, as happened in the past.

The process of renewal will only become irreversible and complete if the original value of justice and law is restored and the authority of people's courts and judges is strengthened. In this respect public opinion is pinning great hopes on the forthcoming judicial and legal reform.

The essence of the reform should, in my opinion, be the strengthening of the presumption of innocence as the alpha and omega of legal proceedings, and the creation of reliable mechanism to protect judges from the influence of local officials or investigators.

The Soviet people expect of the reform a legal guarantee of their rights and lawful interests, especially as these interests have now been extended, as is evident, for instance, from the cooperative movement. They also hope that the reform will favourably influence the personnel in law-enforcement institutions, help raise the professional and political standards of lawyers, and rid society of overcautious court decisions and judicial mistakes.

The Central Committee of the Party, at its plenary meeting in February, called for drastic measures to strengthen the legal levers of perestroika and for strict observance of legality in every sphere of public life. This task is impossible to achieve through judicial and legal reform only. Something more is needed. It is a comprehensive programme for the legal education of the people for, if one thinks it over, the principles of legality are in effect the principles of democracy, the principles of respect for man. Soviet legislation must and will become a reliable guarantee of the social protection of Soviet people.

The national party conference opens on May 20. Such conferences have rarely been held in the past. It has been usual between congresses to hold plenums of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP), which examine how decisions taken earlier have been carried out. The first party conference was held in May 1945, and the second in June 1957. In both cases the dates speak for themselves.
Since then there have been no party conferences, although the party rules provide for the possibility of convening them.

The turning point

VALERY MUSATOV

There were weighty reasons for convening the present conference of the HSWP. The CC plenum which decided on the date for such a conference deemed it necessary to discuss the problems of the country's development, since in many spheres of life trends were evident that ran counter to the course adopted by the last (13th) congress of the HSWP. The mounting economic and social difficulties were affecting the mood of the population. The discussions on the course of social development were becoming more heated, there were signs of ideological confusion, and the unity of the Communists had weakened. It was becoming increasingly clear that the stabilization of the economy and its further advancement required not only the coordinated implementation of reforms in different fields, but also the renovation of the entire political system based on the enhanced leading role of the HSWP.

Interest in the party conference is immense throughout Hungary. The draft of its resolution approved at the CC Plenum after a two-day discussion was sent out to all primary party organizations and simultaneously published in a large edition.

The document provides a balanced assessment of the situation. It notes that in the three years that have elapsed since the party congress, there has been no improvement in the Hungarian economy. The country's hard currency debt has continued to grow, inflationary processes became more marked and the burden on the population has increased. The standard of living is dropping, and tension is mounting in society. The reasons are in part objective ones linked with unfavourable trends in the world economy, but, as the draft resolution underlined, the main cause derived from the mistakes made in the past. The way out of this situation had been indicated in the programme for economic and social development drawn up by the CC HSWP back in July of last year. Certain steps had been taken to stabilize the economy, but the necessary turning point has not yet been reached.

The HSWP believes that the interests of the development of society require an acceleration of the reforms, with a concomitant renovation of the economic mechanism and the system of political institutions stemming from such achievements of the Hungarian people as people's democratic power, the leading role of the party, public ownership of the main means of production, and the combined activities of state, economic and public organizations.

Party work

The draft resolution of the HSWP conference sets out the main approaches to the restructuring of party work in the present conditions.

Along with greater effectivity of party leadership, it is proposed to ensure in future the wider participation of territorial and local party bodies in the shaping of policy and its implementation, as well as in controlling its fulfilment. The democratism in party life will require improvements in the system of elections within the party, and the nomination of several candidates to a post. It is suggested that a proportion of the leading party bodies should be formed through direct elections held in primary party organizations. There should also be guarantees that a member of an elected body can be recalled if he fails to live up to the requirements of his job.

In 1986 it was decided that members of the party Politbureau and Secretariat, as well as chiefs of CC departments and first secretaries of regional party committees, could serve not more than two consecutive terms. Now it is proposed to spread this rule right down to the secretaries of local party committees.

The draft document of the national party conference calls for the strengthening of the party's ideological, political and organizational unity, and for more effective ideological work. Members of the party are obliged publicly to defend the party line, and the examination of different viewpoints and the shaping of a common outlook should be conducted in appropriate discussions, with the minority presenting its view and having the right to ask for a review of decisions adopted earlier. But while a decision remains in force, all party members have to abide by it.

Incidentally, in order to ensure that decisions are properly scientifically founded, alternative drafts should be

drawn up, while important decisions should first be discussed at all levels —from regional to local party organizations, and the most important issues should be made the subject of party debates. It is recommended that consultative organizations of experts be set up at the CC of the party, at government and local level to help find the right answers to new questions that crop up in social development. (A body of experts to consult the government on issues connected with the economic reform has already been set up and is operating.)

At the coming party conference it is proposed to discuss ways of perfecting the country's political system. In this connection, special interest is attached to the proposals to amend the country's Constitution and provide for the formation of a system of democratic ties between the state and the people, without any bureaucratic walls between them. The mechanism of such ties would be founded on the mutual observance of rights and duties. It is also proposed to give the National Assembly a greater role in the country's life and improve the election system. Hungary has already been nominating no less than two candidates for elections to parliament and local bodies. Now this practice is to be developed further. A law on national and local referenda is being drafted. It is also proposed to adopt a new legislative act on the independence of public representative bodies.

In this connection the passage from the party document dealing with the role of openness is particularly significant. It notes that openness offers wider opportunities "for determining common and differing interests, the shaping of a national consensus and the implementation of public control."

The restructuring of the political system is directly connected with the changes in the economic field. The party identifies the tasks requiring urgent solutions as slowing down the rate of foreign indebtedness and then stopping its growth entirely, balancing the national budget, and reducing the lag in scientific and technical progress. Society and the nation are interested in resolving these problems, "even if it runs counter to the immediate interests of both economic organizations and the people."

That sums up the salient points of the draft resolution of the coming party conference in Hungary. Discussions of this draft were completed in April, with Janos Kadar, all members of the Politbureau, secretaries and department chiefs of the HSWP Central Committee taking part in the plenums of the regional party organizations at which the results of the discussions were summed up.

At the request of the CC HSWP, mass public organizations and republican cooperatives associations have also expressed their views on the draft. Every third member of the party voiced his views on the draft at party meetings.

Expectations and hopes

People in Hungary are convinced that the country has now come to a turning point, where practical steps need to be taken to overcome the difficulties and ensure the country's further socialist advancement.

The Hungarian press states unanimously that the assessment of the situation given in the party draft is more realistic and reflects the realities better than did such documents in the past, but the majority of Communists still believe that an even more profound analysis is required, more concrete and self-critical, in order to get down to the root causes of the difficulties and mistakes that have accumulated. And many of the proposals in this respect go further than the draft.

The country is pinning great hopes on the HSWP conference. Perhaps in some respects the hopes are too great, since after all it will be a conference, not a congress, and much work needs to be done to resolve many of the problems. Moreover, as Janos Kadar noted in one of his interviews, the conference in itself will not provide the country with more competitive goods.

The purpose of the party conference is to define more explicitly the concrete tasks of society's development and strengthen the party's ranks.

The political renovation should begin with the party. That is the message of many of the speeches and comments. It is high time primary party organizations, say the Hungarian Communists, realized their part in shaping policy and stopped regarding themselves as responsible merely for carrying out party policy. The future lies in political methods. There is less and less room left in life for interference from above. Creative discussions must become part and parcel of the inner life of every party organization, and openness must be extended within the party from top to bottom. Party members should be kept better informed in the search for socialist solutions to social problems.

Backing was given to proposals for further democratization of elections within the party. The practice of pressure from above in the course of elections in primary party organizations was declared inadmissible. The idea of extending the circle of posts in which a person could serve only two terms was approved. But it was pointed out that this was no guarantee that no further mistakes would be made in cadre policy. The plenary meetings of the Budapest city and regional committees of the party noted the importance of renewing the composition of the party's leading bodies.

One of the most important tasks facing the party is considered to be the preparation of the next phase in the economic reform. But, as was pointed out in the course of the discussions, efforts should be concentrated on drawing up a general strategy of social and political reforms. That, for instance, was the view expressed by the Presidium of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Keen interest was shown in the discussions on ways of improving the political system. The range is very wide, as many issues remain undecided, but, clearly, the main objective has been pinpointed: a strict division of functions and responsibility between the party and the state leadership, and the creation of a mechanism within the party and legislative bodies that would prevent the adoption of voluntarist decisions.

Then there is the question of greater participation by the trade unions, the Patriotic People's Front, the YCL and other public organizations in drafting and implementing policies, and the establishment of their partnership with government and state bodies.

Support was given to the proposal of the CC HSWP on amending the Constitution. Some people even suggested drawing up a new one. There is evident interest in the draft legislation on improving the electoral system, and extending the functions of the Soviets. Views differed and sometimes clashed on the draft on economic enterprises and associations. But views on a multiparty system, as demanded by opposition elements, were not divided. Attempts to push this idea through met with no support.

Talking to journalists, Prime Minister Karoly Grosz, member of the Politbureau of the CC HSWP, noted that in his opinion one could not imagine the existence of several parties in Hungary at this stage. "Therefore," he added, "I rule out the possibility of a multiparty system. I maintain that it is necessary to improve the work of the party..."

Discussions among Communists showed that what is needed for the effective operation of the party is self-control, correcting one's work in its course. In this connection some interesting views were expressed on increasing public control over the shaping of party policy.

The proposals of the CC HSWP on strengthening the leading role of the party and developing the political system have met with mass support in the country, as everyone understands that these are questions which must be resolved.

Politics and ethics

Ovanes Melikyan

Ever since the time of Socrates and Aristotle a debate has been underway on the relationship between politics and morals. This debate has now made it absolutely clear that the moral aspects of human endeavor are more readily understandable than the rigid and abstract political doctrines according to some of which any means may be resorted to in order to reach a political goal. In the face of Machiavellian doctrines, moralists have pressed for the establishment of ethical and humanitarian principles as the basis for human relationships.

Now that universal humanitarian values are seen as the guarantee of the survival of the human race, the advocacy of morality has assumed an extremely attractive aspect. It does not correspond to the interests of only one class, albeit the most numerous one, but to those of the entire close-knit world community. If nations come to know each other really well, no differences between them will persist. Since time immemorial many people have been aware of tremendous universal human affinity.

Ethics, the science of morality, proceeds from the reality of that which has not yet come about. In other words, every effort must therefore be made to encourage the will for moral renewal that will put an end to the political ills of old: war, crime, hate, mistrust, fear, and attempts to deceive the other side at the negotiating table or after talks have ended. Morals are what we need and, relying on the new awareness of them, we shall be able to bring about a new intellectual and moral order in relations between people.

Men of politics and men of morals cannot exist in isolation from each other

The reappraisal of the rigid logic of a simplistic class approach to universal human problems is in keeping with the spirit of the time and has enhanced the prestige of Soviet policy. The over-simplified interpretation of the class approach treated the advocacy of morality as nothing short of a cunning tactics of the ideological struggle against the theory of Marx and Lenin. The spirit of reappraisal has introduced new flexibility to Soviet diplomacy. My own view is that we have made a transition to a higher level where morality has assumed universal significance for the life of society. One of our prime concerns is making the economy sounder. The moral and psychological pressure exerted by scientists, writers, and journalists is imposing limits on the effects of the activity of technocratic institutions, managers, and organizations. The influence of political and ethical thought is gathering momentum. We have finally realized that men of politics and men of morals cannot exist in isolation from each other and that intellectual freedom and responsibility are absolutely compatible.

The above could be summarized in the following formulae: the attitude to morality indicates the degree of culture; politics divorced from morals leaves a lifeless desert in its wake, and, fusing morals and politics is the clue to saving life. Naturally, what I mean here is humanitarian morality, not religious or political fanaticism.

The relationship between politics and morals is reflected, among other things, in the new assessment of the role of Stalin. The more open and democratic our society becomes, the more brutal his crimes appear to us. Stalin was the inventor of a stereotype of socialism that is incompatible with democracy, liberty, or humane attitudes to the individual. Viewed in that context, the humanization of our domestic policy has an international significance that is comparable to the historic steps that have been taken towards reducing nuclear arsenals. Combined, these facilitate the establishment of a climate of trust and unrestrained discourse among nations. Those who reject morality in politics are not yet extinct. They claim that if politicians were bound by ethics they would be unable to take any action and would lose their jobs. Nonsense. Of course, conflicts now underway in various parts of the world will not be settled of their own accord. Politics and morals have a great deal of work to do between them in order to promote friendship, good will, mutual understanding and assure peaceful coexistence. In that atmosphere conflicts will be dealt with reasonably, rather than irrationally.

Everybody must realize that in order to survive mankind will have to change its way of political thinking over the next few decades to a greater extent than it has done over thousands of years.

Will "spiritual wisdom be able to support itself"? That idea of the Byzantine historian Menander Protector appears to be of key importance today. At this stage of the development of science and technology, we, people of various civilizations of the planet Earth, must rely on ethical reason and conscience, however flimsy that foundation may seem.

The humanization of politics is a cause for the entire world community rather than one or two nations. The world community can no longer afford to tolerate hatred which characterized the relationships between the Mon–

taques and the Capulets when none of them had a clear idea of why it all had begun and when, the way of thinking advocated by the doctrine of a "bipolar world."

In his remarkable book on Napoleon Bonaparte, a diehard opponent of the fusion of morals and politics, A. Manfred quotes him as saying "that the struggle of the kings against the republic was actually a war between the two systems: the Gibelins versus the Guelfes, the oligarchs reigning in London, Vienna, St.Petersburg were fighting the republicans of Paris." Struggle is all important, but was there any room for cooperation? Napoleon was naturally little interested in whether the people wanted to be the victims in the struggle between two systems or not. Perhaps that was entirely logical in the past, but now we must look ahead into the 21st century.

Regrettably, the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences does not incorporate an institution concerned with ethics, as if no moral problems in domestic and international affairs remained outstanding. I have followed the discussion of the moral and ethical problems arising from nuclear policy in the United States. The contradiction between ethics and politics as seen by some American scholars reached a peak in the 1950s and 1960s when the futurologist Herman Kahn writing in his books "On Thermonuclear War" and "Thinking about the Unthinkable" painted a grim picture of hundreds of millions dying in a nuclear holocaust. Kahn and those like him proceeded in their visions of the future to restore the population of the Earth and the world economy with startling ease, relying apparently on mathematical methods familiar to them alone.

Politicians in Washington, who are men of pragmatism, have tried and failed to attach morals to nuclear policy in pursuit of their goals. There can be no moral justification of the nuclear monster. No one is capable of providing a moral foundation for the notion of "just nuclear wars." All that is related to nuclear policy is morally inadmissible. While those committed to nuclear doctrines proclaim that they prefer to "live in sin" because no one can supposedly do away with the nuclear parameters of international relations, the popular anti-war movements are gathering momentum guided by a desire to put an end to the nuclear threat through disarmament, as the Soviet Union has proposed in its programme for the phased abolition of nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

A great many people have shed the stereotype of the enemy image and are searching for new moral and political ways towards mutual understanding and trust among nations, and exposing the fallacies of nuclear policy. They are pinning high hopes on the possibility of modifying the methods and forms of dealing with antagonistic contradictions. it is in these circles that the idea of updating political thinking through ethics is discussed. These people possess considerable intellectual, moral, and ethical authority and there are many scholars, authors, and physicians among them. The notion of the nuclear winter, that is, the biological and ecological effects of a nuclear war advanced by them has greatly impressed all thinking people, in whose minds it has become associated with Dante's picture of Hell.

Engels supported the idea of a fusion of morals and politics. He said that disarmament and guarantees of peace through it were quite possible and comparatively easy to implement. If that idea of his had been implemented two world wars could have been avoided.

It is in the context of this nuclear age, however, that the century-old dividing line between humanitarian morals and irrational politics appears more striking than ever before. That is quite logical, for the consequences of any new war would be devastating. The prophetic words of the ancient Greek poet and philosopher Hesiod have assumed new relevance: "Tribute shall be paid to the blackguard and might shall always be right. Shame will be gone." The nuclear age calls for a reappraisal of the stereotypes that have emerged in political thinking. In this day and age, violence can turn from the midwife of history into the digger of its grave.

A humanitarian revolution is important to politicians not only in that it will free their consciences from the idea of violence. A restructuring of political thinking will open up new vistas of human history in the future when one will be able to follow the bidding of one's heart, rather than resort to any means, however base, in order to gain one's ends.

Mankind will have to turn to the perfection of the spirit and aspire to pure and lofty ideas to derive its strength from them and learn to value the simple assets of the Earth: clean water, transparent air, the beauty of nature, the music of the rain, and the mysterious patterns drawn by frost on a window.

The part to be played by ethical reason will become even more important in the 21st century, and that is in keeping with logic, for humankind will enter a new technological phase. The availability of resources, the ecological situation, and transnational space links will assume a new quality, but striking social contrasts are likely to persist. Humanity will face a host of various problems. There is little likelihood in view that the men and women of the 21st century will abandon ethical ideals, the more so as they will have been enriched by the experience acquired in the last 15 years of the 20th century. Now that the process of restructuring and democratizing socialist society is underway, the problems of fusing morals and politics largely assume a new relevance. Speaking at the latest plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev said that the new approach to them is determined by "our present emphasis on the individual and the fact that we are now addressing ourselves to his real image, potential and needs, for today people do not live by bread alone or even by the material benefits of this day and age. Above all they live by truth and conscience, justice and freedom, and according to morality and humanism." Experience has destroyed hopes that politics can be humanized, but those who want to see a marriage of politics and ethics are overcoming pressure from extremely powerful opposition, persistently defending the idea of a synthesis.

Violence can turn from the midwife of history into the digger of its grave

A proper attitude to a synthesis of politics and ethics means drawing a firm line between mutual understanding and arbitrariness, reason and aggressiveness, between a closer approach to the truth of universal peace and a brutish conception of human relations.

The happiness of the greatest number of people is the goal of humane politics.

The United States vs. Dennis Banks

Lev Yelin

The authorities in the United States have now spent 15 years trying to put behind bars the Amerindian leader Dennis Banks. They defy the legal system, as if seeking to prove that any human being is doomed should the state be against him.

"In essence, I began this case with the assumption that the Government would treat Mr Banks and his co-defendant in the same manner as it would any other defendant. I ended this case with the firm conviction that the Government would go to any end, including hiding exculpatory evidence, fabricating evidence, and lying to the Court, in order to convict Mr Banks. As I said in my last opinion, the waters of justice had been polluted."

From the letter of Federal Court Judge Fred Nichol to Kenneth Stern, attorney for the American Indian Movement. November 17, 1987.

Judge Nichol took part in that first phase of the legal prosecution of Banks when it seemed that the tank, to wit the state, would crush the wings of the moth, to wit, the defendant, whom no one would hear.

In February 1973 a white man who had killed an Amerindian youth was tried in Custer, South Dakota, accused merely of having violated public law and order. The local inhabitants applied to the American Indian Movement (AIM) for counsel and help; in response it sent several of its representatives with Dennis Banks at their head to Custer. The town fathers called out the National Guard. In this tense atmosphere, a spark would have been enough to detonate an explosion, but what followed was a salvo from all guns. At the entrance to the courthouse, a National Guardsman manhandled the mother of the dead man. A fight broke out and in the process an unknown hand set fire to the court house.

In the upshot Banks, as well as the mother of the murdered youth were each sentenced to three years of imprisonment for "revolt and arson." The killer was given a mere two months on probation.

When he learned that inside the prison he would be brutalized, Banks fled for refuge to California, whose governor, taking into consideration the repercussions of the Custer affair, refused to extradite him to South Dakota.

Then shortly afterwards came the Wounded Knee drama in the Pine Ridge Indian reservation, also in South Dakota. AIM was in conference at the time in the neighbouring village when Oglalo Sioux Civil Rights Organization and the elders of Wounded Knee applied for help. They wanted the new chief Dick Wilson replaced because he had kowtowed to white men and had several intransigent Amerindians brutally murdered.

The authorities resolved not to budge. An FBI squad and a "special task force" were dispatched to scalp the Wounded Knee Indians, losses were recorded on both sides.

According to Kenneth Stern, some 250 AIM members were killed in Pine Ridge between 1973 and 1975. At the same time, the legal machine was activated. Several hundred Amerindians, including Banks, faced a court under Judge Fred Nichol. However, Judge Nichol did not play the game according to the rules, viewing the case as "incompatible with justice and the interests of justice." There follows another quotation from a recent letter from him:

"The Government's demonstrated disregard for fairness and legal ethics exhibited in the case before me deprived Mr Banks of the rights any criminal defendant is entitled to...The fact that both the FBI and the U.S. Attorney's office were active participants in this pollution of justice convinced me that there was a systemic, in addition to an individual, desire to convict Mr Banks by means well beyond those which were ethical and fair."

Nichol found that the FBI had concealed major documents from the court. He insisted that they be found and 131 documents were brought to light. "Only the FBI knows if there were more documents that did not surface," Nichol wrote. The FBI even descended to such cheap tricks as repagination in order to confuse the defence. Only after the trial did the judge learn that in violation of the law an FBI agent had been present when the defendants met their lawyer. As for the attorney's actions, Nochol considered them "shocking," as he had simply deceived the court.

Judge Nichol ordered the case to be closed and declared for all to hear that the prosecution had abused its powers.

The charge withdrawn, the charge laid

Judge Nichol's ruling did not deter the FBI from seeking to get Banks convicted at all costs. In early November 1975, the FBI learned that film star Marlon Brando had lent his motor home to AIM. Police patrols were ordered to detain the vehicle which they did along a road in deserted eastern Oregon on the night of November 14. From it alighted Banks's pregnant wife, **KaMook Banks,** holding her 18-month-old daughter, Tashina, **Anna Mae Aquash** (in the winter of 1976 she was murdered, it is suspected, by an FBI agent, See New Times No. 37 for 1987) and a man, who, the FBI later said, was **Leonard Peltier.** (Subsequently sentenced to two terms of life imprisonment on charges of having killed two FBI agents. Archbishop Tutu, Amnesty International and many other legal and public organizations consider him a political prisoner).

In the pickup following the trailer were two Indians, **Kenneth Loud Hawk** and **Russell Redner.** They stopped by the roadside though the police had not ordered them to do so.

Suddenly the trailer took off and at that moment "Peltier" dived into the darkness. Later the trailer was found abandoned by the roadside. Despite the complete lack of evidence, the authorities alleged that **Dennis Banks** had been at its

wheel on the night of November 14. There was more to come. The FBI stated that eight rifles with obliterated serial numbers had been concealed in Marlon Brando's vehicle and that 350 pounds of dynamite had been found in the pickup. Six Indians, including Banks, were charged with the illegal storage and transport of guns and with the illegal storage of explosives.

AIM lawyers asked to be shown the seized dynamite, only to learn that this was out of question as the FBI had supposedly exploded it.

Dennis Banks was prosecuted because together with his comrades, he has protested against the appalling conditions in which native Americans live. Photo from the National Geographic: the Iroquois Indians cannot leave the reservation without an identity card.

In early 1976 Federal Judge Robert Belloni ruled that the destruction of this material evidence had been unjustified. It would have been easy enough to have preserved the explosives had they existed, as well as the box containing these explosives, which had supposedly also been burned. By destroying it, the government had violated the rights of the defendants. Further, according to the testimony of experts, there were no traces of explosives on the seven surviving "dynamite wrappers" presented to the court. It was now thought that the government would be content with the charge of the illegal storage of weapons, but for some reason it declined to prosecute. Upon which Belloni in May 1976, dismissed the entire indictment "with prejudice" (meaning that the government could not seek a new indictment).

The government appealed, but was turned down by the panel of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. It now asked the court to meet in its full complement of eleven members to examine the appeal, an unprecedented step in the history of American jurisprudence. The court agreed and in response to its request, Judge Belloni examined the issue of the destroyed dynamite separately. However, he did not change his view that the FBI could have preserved the explosives had it wanted to do so. Another expert said that the photographs of the dynamite's explosion which the FBI had presented, did not accord with what would actually have happened.

Belloni withdrew from the case and it was transferred to Judge James Redden. Despite his resistance, the authorities managed to prefer new charges carrying severe penalties against the Indian activists. To do so they used amendments to the law that the U.S. Supreme Court had introduced several years after the prosecution was started.

The appeal presented by the defence was turned down

"This is an institutionalized legal prejudice... So I do not believe that this is the place to have this kind of a proceeding... This case is my people versus the United States Government people; and I have documents. I have proof that our people have not been treated fairly by this country. We are political prisoners. Our treaties have all been violated.

But the United States cannot decide this in their courtrooms because they are prejudiced and because they cannot decide on themselves. (Let) it be removed to the international level and let the international court decide."

From the statement of Russell Redner.

In 1983 Judge Redden again agreed to accept the already seven-year-old case. Within this period the main witnesses the defence had put forward had died, while the existing U.S. right to a speedy trial no later than 70 days after the preferment of charges had not of course been observed. Agreeing to the demand of the defence, Redden dismissed the case. The Court of Appeals backed him, but the high court, having considered the case at the request of the state prosecution, in a 5-4 decision held that the seven-year-long procrastination did not violate the speedy trial principle. This was followed by another ruling from Redden and a further appeal from the state prosecution which eventually achieved its objective. The Portland trial was appointed to begin at the start of this present year of 1988.

There is a specific reason why the authorities have been showing such unusual insistence. The four defendants (after Anna Mae Aquash's death and the conviction of Leonard Peltier, there are four in the Banks affair, including Banks himself, his wife KaMook, Russell Redner and Loud Hawk – **L.Y.**) continue to protest against the appalling conditions in which the U.S.'s Indian population lives, the national committee for the defence of Banks has stated.

The Finale

It seems as if the longest trial ever in U.S. legal history is about to end. On March 4, it was announced that Dennis Banks had agreed to plead guilty on the one charge of "illegally possessing desructive device that included dynamite." In exchange, the state prosecution has withdrawn all other charges. All charges against the three other Indians facing the court, including Mrs Banks, have been withdrawn.

News has just come in from Portland that Banks has been sentenced to 5 years imprisonment **on probation.** He will not spend a single day in jail.

We asked SVETLANA CHERVONNAYA, a senior researcher at the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Institute of the U.S. and Canada, to comment.

Judge Paul Benson, who played so sinister a role in Peltier's case, did his best to conceal from the jury evidence of the Indian leader's innocence as well as facts exposing the FBI's abuse of power.

On the other hand, Federal Judges Fred Nichol, Robert Belloni and James Redden, who examined the Banks case, repeatedly repudiated the charges levelled against him and his comrades, noting numerous violations of the constitutional rights of the defendants.

The scale of public protest, the efforts of the lawyers and the objectivity of the judges have had their effect. The charges against Banks have been partly withdrawn, while those against the other three Indians, have been withdrawn completely.

By pleading guilty to the remaining charge, there will now be no further judicial examination in accordance with accepted procedures in the U.S.A.

The editors are grateful to the American newsmen who helped in the writing of this article. They are Norman Solomon of the Portland News in Print and Paul Roland of The Alliance, Portland.

A festival of international trade

The river Maritsa, which flows at a leisurely pace, through Plovdiv, shrank from its banks this spring. Late in April, there were still no streams of visitors to the huge exhibition complex on the left bank. On those busy pre-opening days the place was still occupied by construction gangs and all one could hear was a hubbub of commands, the whine of power drills and the staccato of hammers. Shortly afterwards all this racket gave way to the drone of a well-dressed crowd – the pavilions, squares and alleys had filled up with the participants and guests at the International Spring Plovdiv Fair held there on May 9-15.

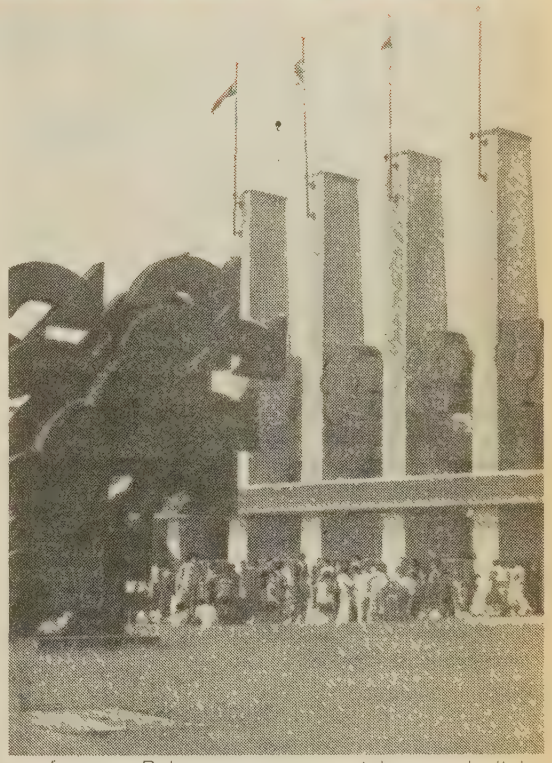
Plovdiv, which spreads over its six hills in full view of the fair's grounds, is Bulgaria's second largest city, and its commercial "front door." Way back in the 2nd century, the ancient Greek writer Lucian described it as "one of the largest and most beautiful of all the towns on Thracian Plain." Tourists flocking to Plovdiv are shown the amphitheaters, stadiums and forums dating back to the times of the Roman conquest, medieval fortress walls, unique relics of architecture, and churches.

However, the "panair" – the Bulgarian for "fair" – is the city's chief attraction twice a year in May and September. This year, the streets of Plovdiv were bedecked with flags and streamers bearing the number 95 – the age of the Plovdiv fairs. The first Bulgarian exhibition held there in 1892 attracted businessmen from 24 countries. The sponsors sought to show the economic potential of Bulgaria, which had just emerged from Turkish domination, and its wish to promote trade with other countries. That was when the tradition, now of long standing, had its start. Gradually, the Plovdiv "panairs" came to rank prominently among the most prestigious international trade forums. In 1936, the Plovdiv Fair joined the Union of International Fairs (UFI).

As many as 43 international autumn technical fairs had already been held in Plovdiv. In 1981, spring displays of consumer goods were added to them (the Spring Plovdiv Fair was also accepted by the UFI five years later). Today's Plovdiv is a showcase for the Bulgarian economy and, along with its twin cities of Leipzig, Brno and Poznan, a universally recognized exhibition centre, a trade bridge between East and West. In 1981, the Plovdiv Fair won the Golden Mercury award.

Georgi Georgiyev, Deputy General Director of the International Plovdiv Fair, told me about the distinguishing features of its 1988 "version."

As many as 1,516 companies from 50 countries contributed to the exhibition Everything for the Home. This year the Spring Fair was more "technological" than usual: the emphasis was not so much on the products themselves, as on the machines and processes used in manufacturing them.



The fair grounds take up an area of over half a million square metres accommodating 24 pavilions. Over the past few years, the Plovdiv Fair has become a major industrial enterprise: its catalogue lists 90 services offered to participating firms and countries. Skilled builders, famous architects and designers not only help build and decorate display stands, but also do all the jobs entailed in setting up Bulgarian pavilions and national exhibitions abroad (about 30 of them a year) between Plovdiv fairs. This keeps them busy all the year round.

The Bulgarian exhibition was, of course, the largest. It displayed products by the enterprises and organizations affiliated to the association Industry for Man. Many of the exhibits were joint efforts by Bulgarian manufacturers and their foreign partners. The Mladost Amalgamation, for instance, presented more than 5,500 exhibits, most of them co-produced with Austrian, British, Italian, Singaporean, F.R.G. and Czechoslovak firms. Ninety-five per cent of the exhibits bore the label Novelty. The Bulgarian New Products and Fashions Centre presented 410 items co-manufactured with Austrian enterprises. Incidentally, the Bulgarian government has made it incumbent on the Plovdiv Fair to specify when the new products on display are to go into commercial production. Exhibits not ready for such production are barred from the fair.

Significantly, the Bulgarian exhibitors included the self-managed economic organizations and companies that make up the Home Trade and Services Association and the Central Cooperative Union. Following the economic reforms, Bulgarian companies have been expanding into the international market on their own. Many enterprises are entitled to keep part of the hard currency they earn to pay their way with. For them the fair is an ideal place for business contacts and exchanges.

The fair's sponsors do not confine themselves to business transactions. The International Fashion Festival, held as part of the Plovdiv Spring Fair, has already become established. This year the CMEA countries' fashion designers and their colleagues from other countries paraded their new creations for the fourth time. More than a hundred Bulgarian and foreign firms took part in the specialized exhibition called Complete Sets of

Domestic Equipment.

Numerous seminars, conferences and panel discussions were held for experts while the fair was on. This year's symposium focussed on the subject of new machinery and techniques used in manufacturing domestic appliances.

Traditionally, the Soviet Union was the biggest foreign exhibitor at the fair. The large letters "U.S.S.R." crowning Pavilion No.6 could be seen from afar. The Bulgarians say that the Soviet presence at the Plovdiv Fair had somewhat diminished over the years. Last year, however, the Soviet Union again staged an impressive exposition which proved a success with experts and the public alike. A new model of the Zaporozhets car attracted special interest. A poll revealed that most of the 600-plus journalists accredited to the fair regarded the new Zaporozhets as the most popular exhibit there. That could be explained by the acute shortage of cars in the Bulgarian market as well as by the fact that these cars would be assembled at Bulgarian factories. This spring our foreign trade organizations contributed no such "hit," but many visitors showed interest in new Soviet electronic household appliances which are up to the highest international standards.

Every year, a special exhibition is presented by a Soviet republic – this time it was the Ukrainian S.S.R. Ukrainian actors and musicians performed in all the theatres and concert halls of the city in what amounted to a huge cultural programme. Their audience was extremely varied – the Plovdiv Fair drew up to 120,000 foreign guests alone!

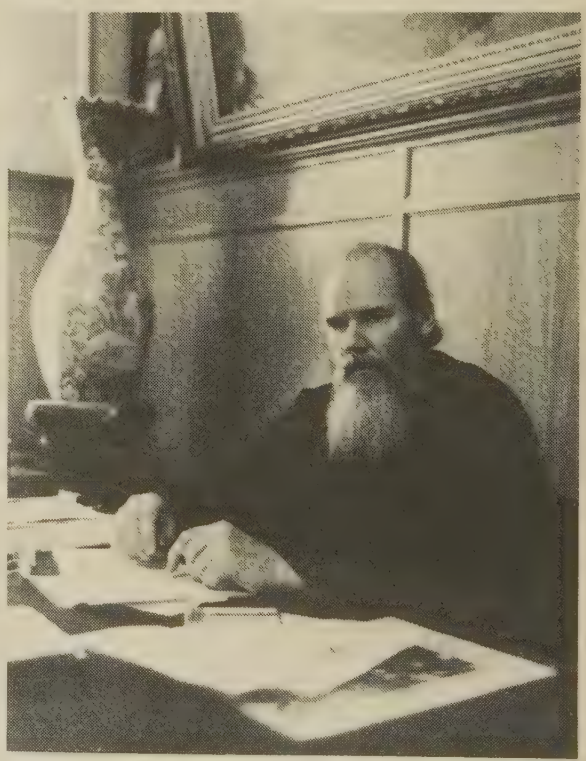
"Noise, swearing, bleating and howling merge into a discordant chorus. Crowded with bullocks, sacks, hay, Gypsies, clay pots, fishwives, piles of honeycakes, tall astrakhan hats, the place is a riot of colour, a teeming hive. No single word or shout is heard above the babel of voices punctuated now and then by loud claps as traders strike hands on their bargains." That was how Nikolai Gogol described quite a different fair, in Sorochintsy. This and other Russian fairs – in Makaryevo, Nizhni Novgorod, for instance – have long receded into the past. Today in our country we have no single instance of the representative international trade forums that are so essential for the establishment of extensive and fruitful economic ties. Isn't it time we revived this fine tradition and made a practice of organizing international fairs – on the Plovdiv model, for instance.

ALEXEI BUKALOV
our special correspondent

Plovdiv – Moscow

ENTERING THE SECOND MILLENNIUM

The Metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgorod, *permanent member of the Holy Synod* ***Alexii,*** *summed up the main task of the Russian Orthodox Church as that of instilling higher standards of morality, virtue and industriousness. Together with Pimen, the Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, and the other members of the Holy Synod, he took part in a recent meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev. Below Metropolitan Alexii is interviewed by a New Times reporter.*



What hopes does the Russian Orthodox Church attach to perestroika?

To rebuild is always more difficult than to build. But the enthusiasm that has swept all sections of society serves as a guarantee that perestroika will be successful. Public opinion is making itself clearly heard. An offensive has been launched on bureaucratism. Interest in the past, the present and the future of the country has grown. In a sense, perestroika is a leap forward in our development, and that means that it is oriented towards all that is progressive, talented, and capable of ensuring dynamism. The believers of the Russian Orthodox Church are united with the entire people in this transformation of our country.

Personally, I hope that as a result of perestroika people's attitudes to each other and to themselves will change radically. Higher standards of morality, conscientiousness in work and family life, less egotism, selfishness and self-regard, more charity and compassion – these are the things I would include in the programme of spiritual perestroika.

Church problems are now being resolved satisfactorily. The major complex of the Optina Pustyn and the Tolga Monastery have been returned to the Russian Orthodox Church. The state is providing great help in restoring the Danilov Monastery, the spiritual and administrative centre of the Russian Orthodox Church. In Estonia, the former hostel of the Pühtitsa Convent of Assumption has been handed over for the community's use. In Leningrad, the City Council has at my request provided two buildings to serve respectively as the re-

sidence of the Metropolitan and the diocesan board.

On the eve of the millennium of the Baptism of Russ, the Russian Orthodox Church looks to the future with optimism. The Church's eternal and special mission is to serve God and our neighbours. In the future too the Church will continue to carry out that duty.

How would you describe the relations that are developing between believers and non-believers?

The dialogue between believers and non-believers, a dialogue that has now been taking place in our society for 70 years, is assuming special importance. It has not always taken place calmly. Of course, dialogue presumes both debate and criticism. While not opposing atheistic polemics as such, I should like to stress that we are for honesty in arguments. When atheistic articles and books are written in a tone offensive to believers, when unverified and often distorted facts are used in atheist propaganda, it does nothing to create a healthy atmosphere for the dialogue.

That is why I welcome any objective information about religion and the Church (I stress, not apologetic but objective) which, it must be said, has been appearing in our press much more often than in the past. This information fulfils a highly important function: it destroys prejudice, corrects wrong assessments, and, in the final analysis, helps to consolidate our socialist society.

When you get to know more about the life of the church in a socialist society, you can see that Christianity does not lead people away from the realities of life, but helps to serve both society and the people who live in it. According to the Orthodox faith, a person's main claim to being a Christian is that he performs good works. From the church pulpits we call on believers to make their lives worthy of Christians, urging them to fulfil their civic, public and family duties honestly and with dignity, so that our lives become easier and we ourselves correspond more closely to what is expected of us on Earth.

Among the questions to be discussed at the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church marking the millennium of the Baptism of Russ will be the Charter of our Church (the Assembly will meet in Zagorsk on June 6). That charter will clearly define the rights and duties of members of the Russian Orthodox Church.

People more or less understand the duties of a parish priest. But for non-believers, a Metropolitan is a more mysterious figure. What are your duties? your rights? your responsibilities?

In reply to that question, I must say that as a Metropolitan I do not belong to myself. I belong to the Church. I have practically no free time. My work is made up of diocesan administrative duties, I have to represent the Church, conduct services, work on religious and ecumenical treatises, and perform my public duties.

Diocesan administrative duties include overseeing the work of four dioceses and of religious schools, where foreign students also study, and guiding the work of the Leningrad section of the Department of External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate. As a ruling prelate, it is my job to decide on the appointment and dismissal of priests in the Leningrad, Tallinn, Novgorod, and Olonetsk dioceses, to supervise their work and conduct an extensive correspondence on various church problems. The Pühtitsa Convent of Assumption with all its problems also requires my constant attention.

As Metropolitan of Leningrad, I have constantly to supervise the work of the Leningrad religious educational institutions – the theological seminary, the Academy and the Choir Conductors Class. The future priests of our church require special attention. Work of bishops, priests and teachers of ecclesiastical educational institutions is work with people. One has to respond to all their needs, their joys and sorrows, giving oneself completely to all who need one's help and support. It is far from being a matter of indifference to me what kind of priest a person will make and how he will perform his future duties. Therefore, before a person is admitted to an ecclesiastical educational institution, it is important to determine whether he really does have a vocation for such work. So we talk to all applicants. I am interested in their feelings, the depth of their beliefs, their determination to achieve their goal, their readiness to work selflessly.

My duties also involve conducting services in the parishes. For instance, last year I conducted 198 services in the various parishes of our four dioceses. It is also my job to oversee the work of parishes in Finland and visit them regularly.

A lot of time and energy is taken up by participation in various conferences, congresses and ecumenical and peace gatherings. For almost a quarter of a century I have been President of the Conference of European Churches, an organization responsible for the ecumenical movement in Europe. The members of this organization - 118 churches from 26 European countries – seek to make their contribution to the search for ways of preserving and consolidating peace on Earth. Of course the Church is not a political organization, but it possesses moral authority and spiritual resources which could and should serve to overcome the mistrust between countries and peoples, and promote the establishment of peace and justice. I regard that aspect of my work as extremely important.

My public activities also include my work on the board of the Soviet Peace Fund, the Soviet-Indian Friendship Society, the commission for contacts with religious circles for peace, the Soviet Peace Committee, and the Rodina society...

What goal has the Russian Orthodox Church set itself for its second millennium?

Let me reply briefly. The Gospel indicates a practically endless road to people, calling on them to perfect themselves in the image of their creator: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." That is the main purpose of the activities of the church on Earth in all ages. At the same time, the Russian Orthodox Church has always shared its country's joys and sorrows. I believe that this direction in the activities of our Church will find concrete implementation in the second millennium of its existence, which we are now entering.

Interviewer
OLGA BAI

A life of achievement

It is not customary for the British to erect monuments to their heroes or kings in their lifetimes. But a bronze monument to this man has already stood for several years on Red Lion Square in the heart of London. The money for it was collected by a number of public organizations.

That eminent political and public figure of modern Britain, senior member of the House of Lords Lord Fenner Brockway, who died earlier this month, was well known in many countries as an unbending internationalist and fighter against colonialism and racism. Ever since the day in 1907, when as a young journalist he found himself for the first time at a meeting of British socialists, Fenner Brockway linked his fate once and for all with the Labour movement. After 42 active years in the House of Commons, he agreed in 1964 to accept a life peerage and take a seat in the House of Lords in order to continue the struggle for his ideals, the main one always being universal peace in the world.

Despite his title, Lord Fenner Brockway lived very modestly. There was nothing special about his clothes, or his home – an unremarkable house in a London suburb. ("All my life I have tried to spend as much as an average worker – not a single penny more.") He presented his rich library to the Indian people, and numerous gifts, documents and souvenirs to museums and the collections of progressive organizations. "The work for the future that is what really counts," he used to say, "and then I always have my reminiscences with me..."

Lord Fenner Brockway, indeed, has unique reminiscences. It proved impossible to cram them even into the dozens of books he has written. At the beginning of his life he was influenced both by major events and outstanding personalities of the 20th century. He numbered among his friends such figures as the founder of the British Labour movement Keir Hardie, the philosopher Bertrand Russell, and the writers Bernard Shaw and H.G. Wells. He was involved in India's struggle for independence and maintained close ties with Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.

Lord Fenner Brockway once contested the same seat in parliament as his ideological opponent Sir Winston Churchill. In the eighties, he conducted extensive correspondence with Senator Edward Kennedy and Indira Gandhi.

In a memory that remained crystal clear till the very end, Lord Fenner Brockway gave a special place to his recollections of meetings with Russian revolutionaries. The interview given by A.M. Kollontai when she attended the Labour Party conference in Britain in 1910 made a never-to-be forgotten impression on him, as did his meetings with M.M. Litvinov, L.B. Krasin and I.M. Maisky.

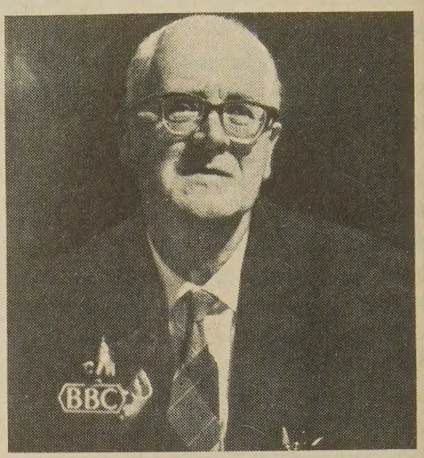
Lord Fenner Brockway never favoured communist ideas and at times even fought against them. But, as he himself used to say, he admired the staunchness of the representatives of Lenin's old guard, their unswerving loyalty to the ideals of the socialist revolution.

The evolution of Fenner Brockway's attitude to questions of war and peace is very interesting. His pacifism during the first world war was replaced by the idea of non-violent resistance preached by Mahatma Gandhi. Then the civil war in Spain convinced him that there may also occur just wars. During the war against German fascism, he completely rejected pacifism. His hope was, as he said, that after the second world war, socialism would triumph in the world. During the period of the cold war he was for a time disenchanted with the policy of the Soviet Union. And yet, in the final count, the logic of life brought the realization that what prevented his dream – peace in the world – from coming true was not the "aggressiveness of the Russians," but the stepped-up militarization of the imperialist powers.

In the last few decades Lord Fenner Brockway was a recognized leader of the peace movement, a prominent organizer of the large-scale protests of the British and world public against nuclear weapons. Despite his age, until very recently he continued to travel to all continents.

In 1979, together with his close friend and associate, Nobel Peace Prize winner Philip Noel-Baker, he founded the World Disarmament Campaign, an international organization uniting the public in a struggle for concrete measures in the field of disarmament, and, especially, nuclear disarmament. The organization continues its work to this day and has affiliated groups both in Britain and a number of other Western countries.

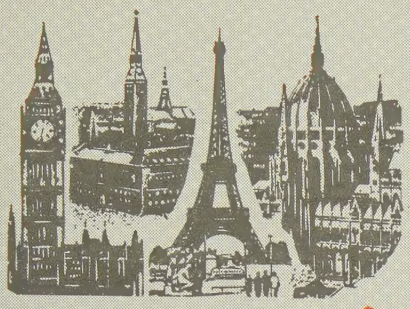
Lord Fenner Brockway visited the Soviet Union many times. He closely followed – as long as his health permitted – the first steps of perestroika and appreciated its immense potential for the cause of peace. In one of his last interviews he gave me, replying to a question – what would he like to wish the Soviet people – he said: "I remember the frosty evening in January 1983, when I approached one of the first Soviet-built monuments to the prominent revolutionaries of the past at the Kremlin Wall. Alongside the names of the founders of Marxism, I saw there the names of the champions for social justice that I respect greatly – Saint-Simon, Jaurès, Fourier and even Gerrard Winstanley, whom I consider to be the first British Socialist.

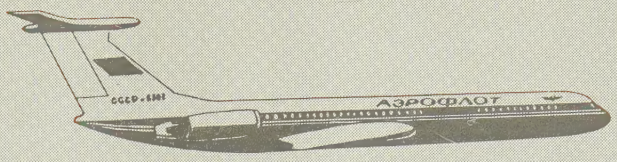


"That monument helped me to revalue much of my attitude towards the Soviet communists. It turned out that from the very dawn of Soviet power they have honoured the memory of all those who devoted their lives to the fight for social progress. Hence is my wish – it is addressed not only to the Soviet people. Let us unite the forces of all honest people in the fight against the nuclear threat. Let us together provide for a secure and happy future for our offsprings."

...In 1983, on his 95th birthday, Lord Fenner Brockway said to me that the best present for his 100th birthday, which he planned to celebrate in London's famous Albert Hall, would be the beginning of a process of worldwide nuclear disarmament. He died just six months before his hundredth birthday... But the cause to which he devoted his life is at last beginning to bear fruit.

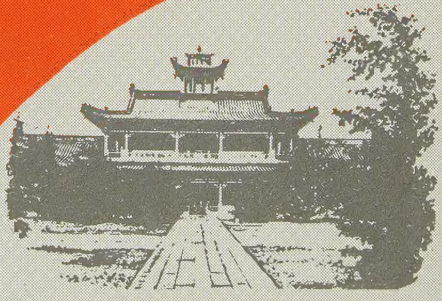
MIKHAIL BOGDANOV





The Transsiberian air route offers the shortest and most convenient way from Europe to Japan via Moscow.

For details about transit flights via the Soviet Union apply to any Aeroflot agency in your country.



АЭРОФЛОТ

Soviet airlines

АЭРОФЛОТ
Soviet airlines
PAN AM

ATTENTION BUSINESSMEN AND TOURISTS

On May 15 Aeroflot and Pan American introduce a new time-saving non-stop Moscow—New York air service.

Three flights a week by Boeing-747 jets.

Three travel accommodation classes.
Every passenger comfort.

For details write to Aeroflot and Pan Am offices in your country.

ИНДЕКС 70622 НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗ